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EDITORIAL

In this issue of the Review we present two articles by European scholars dealing with the heroic yet tragic history of the Anabaptists in Switzerland and East Prussia. In Switzerland persecution of the Anabaptists began in 1525 and complete toleration was not realized until 1815, although no martyrs were executed after 1614. The story of this last martyrdom is told here by Dr. Paul Kläui of Zurich. Anabaptism in East Prussia begins with the immigration of persecuted Dutch Anabaptists in the sixteenth century. The story of their settlements and alternate toleration and persecution is told by Dr. Horst Penner, a West Prussian Mennonite, now a teacher in South Germany.

The story of how a large section of the American Amish became Amish Mennonite has not been fully told. The Review has published a number of articles, however, which contribute to that end; especially certain articles by John Umble. The article by John A. Hostetler in the present issue is a further contribution along the same line. It tells the story of Samuel Yoder, an Amish bishop who was active in the Amish ministers' conference which met regularly from 1862 to 1878, but was then discontinued because of the growing divergence between the conservative and the progressive groups.

In the final article Silas Hertzler gives his annual summary of attendance in Mennonite secondary schools and colleges.

—G. F. H.

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HANS LANDIS OF ZURICH (†1614)

The Last Swiss Anabaptist Martyr

Paul Kläui

Although there is no documentary evidence of the existence of an Anabaptist congregation in the region of Horgen and Wädenswil near Zurich in Reformation times, it is altogether probable that, as in other near-by Zurich territories, there were Anabaptists here throughout the sixteenth century. At the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century Anabaptists appear in the records of the region of Horgen and Wädenswilberg as a distinct congregation true to the Anabaptist principles as they had formerly been held in the Zurich territories of Grüningen and Knonau. It is in this territory that the noted Hans Landis, an outstanding leader of the Zurich Anabaptists, lived and died.

At the end of the sixteenth century the state church increased its endeavors to bring the Anabaptists back into the fold of the church and to put an end to their influence. The consequence of the edict issued against them in 1585 was a large emigration of Anabaptists from the Zurich territory particularly to Moravia where they had full freedom of religion. Those who remained behind were subjected to increased pressure. In October, 1589, fifteen Anabaptists were imprisoned at Horgen, probably in connection with one of their meetings, since among the number arrested were several from other places. Seven of the fifteen came from Wädenswil, and four from Horgen, namely, Pfister Hans Sommerauer,

Uli Suter, and Heini and Hans Landis. The two last were named as ministers. Actually the Landis brothers, as we shall see, were the center of the Anabaptist congregation in Horgen and Wädenswil, and Hans was to become the martyr of his convictions and of his personally courageous attitude. We shall follow his tragic fate.

In the year 1608 the attempts to wipe out the Anabaptists in Horgen began with full force, and now we learn more about their number and their spirit. Approximately forty persons were understood to belong to them, both men and women. They refused to go to church services, and held their own meetings in barns and forests or in the house of Hans Landis, a farmer. Landis, a man more than sixty years of age, was their minister and leader. He was described in a report by an opponent as "an evil, treacherous, and dangerous wolf, who leads many simple people astray," indicating his great influence upon the people. In the meetings of the Anabaptists not only were sermons preached but baptism of adults was practiced and occasionally marriages were performed. The congregation possessed a congregational fund which had been built up out of levies on the members and from legacies such as the one hundred pounds from Felix Staub and an additional one hundred pounds from the wife of Hans Staub. The fund was invested, in part, in grain. They denied that they had appointed Jacob Isler auf dem Bodenhof, "who formerly was a right worldly man," as the manager of this fund. Later on the congregation owned the "Hallauergütli" near Sihlbrugg, a farm valued at about seven hundred pounds, and used it for the support of the poor, which fact was used by the enemies of the Anabaptists as evidence that they wanted to tempt others to join them. In the main, however, the life of the Anabaptists was quite unknown to outsiders, which furnished a rather good soil for all kinds of rumors, such as those which found expression in the statement, "Many things take place among them which one cannot discover."

At the end of September, 1608, Magistrate Hans Jacob Biber of Horgen submitted a list of eight Anabaptist families and individuals, at the head of which stood Hans Landis and his entire household. However, he commented that "there are many more of these folks, who secretly and publicly belong to them, whom I cannot name." Following a further more extensive report by the chief magistrate the arrest of preacher Hans Landis and treasurer Jacob Isler was ordered.

In the Wellenberg prison in Zurich, in which the two prisoners were kept, they were examined in the presence of the magistrates

of Horgen in individual hearings, in the hope that they could be brought to a renunciation of their Anabaptist faith and to an acceptance of the state church. Hans Landis professed not only his faith in God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, as a faith out of which good works should come as a right fruit of the Gospel, but also his conviction that adult baptism is necessary since Christ had said, "He who believes and is baptized, the same shall be saved," claiming that children should not be baptized until they have been taught a knowledge of God and have come to an understanding of faith. Attendance at state church services he rejected, since "in such an ungodly world no preaching and admonishing will do any good," and one should not require him "to attend the preaching of such ungodly people." For the same reason he rejected participation in the Lord's Supper so long as the ungodly were not excluded from it. Against the accusation of disobedience to the civil authorities he defended himself, although he said he could recognize the government only when, as the servant of God, it protected the righteous, punished evil, and conducted a God-fearing life. He refused to name any member of the Anabaptist congregation or the place where their meetings were held. Since he refused to yield, and continued in "his stubborn ideas and spiritual pride," it was decided, on December 22, 1608, that he should "lie in irons in a warm room" in the city "Spital" until a decision had been taken in his case. However, he learned that even in the city he had friends who secretly brought him food and drink, and one night they gave him a tool with which he was able to unloose his chains. On the morning of December 31 he escaped out of the "Spital."

Jacob Isler, who was kept in prison in the city hall, was just as uncommunicative at his hearing as Landis, and in addition denied that he was treasurer of the congregation. He refused to give any information concerning who had contributed to the church treasury. He also finally succeeded in escaping when the door was left open early one morning. He wanted to make some purchases for his pregnant wife. He was, however, later arrested again and imprisoned in the Wellenberg prison. After his release he lived in the valley in the region of Wädenswil.

After several years of rest the battle against the Anabaptists was resumed in 1613. At first an attempt was made to convince the people in a friendly way concerning their error. On January 2, 1613, Burgomaster Rahn and Antistes Breitinger summoned the Anabaptists to a religious discussion in Wädenswil Castle. Fifteen Anabaptists appeared, and the state church pastors from Horgen,

Wädenswil, and Richterswil participated. Hans Landis, who spoke first, expressed his appreciation for the opportunity to speak before the gentlemen, but preferred to forego an exposition of Anabaptist doctrine since their views were well known. He desired to remain steadfast in his position but was willing to be obedient in all outward matters which were not contrary to his conscience. Thereupon Antistes Breitinger alleged that since each Anabaptist thinks he has his own revelation one can not know their faith. After the Anabaptists had discussed privately among themselves the further procedure they wished to follow, Landis introduced Gallus Fuchs of Richterswil with the following words, "This brother will give you a further account." Gallus defended the Anabaptists in a lengthy speech and stated that he was converted by a brother from Moravia. Then followed a lengthy discussion with a certain Bachmann, a smith, who earlier had repeatedly come into conflict with the law. Landis then led the discussion to the matter of the Lord's Supper, in which, contrary to the teachings of the Bible, both good and bad were permitted to take part. He declared also that more people attended their services than they desired, but he could not forbid anyone to come to him. Gallus Fuchs finally went so far as to propose that the chapel in Hirzel be turned over to the Anabaptists; then one could soon find out who was more popular, the Anabaptists or the pastors.

The entire discussion, however, was fruitless, just as another such discussion had been in Grüningen. All that remained was to apply the Anabaptist mandate in its full severity which included expulsion from the country (on account of disobedience), confiscation of property, and finally execution. In the following summer (1614) the authorities arrested Hans Landis, Jacob Isler and Hans Meili, both living in the valley in the township of Wädenswil, Gallus Fuchs, a certain Paul Degia, also called Galatz, born in Milan, but now living in Wädenswil, and Stephen Zehnder of Birmensdorf. Friendly discussions week after week accomplished nothing; they remained steadfast in their views. The discussions brought out more clearly than before, however, that they did not give the authorities full recognition. Jacob Isler refused, as earlier, to admit that the government was Christian. Landis went further with the assertion that Christ could not be a member of the government, and asserted his refusal to take part in military service, stating that the Anabaptists were not willing to help to defend the fatherland against enemy attack.

In view of the steadfastness of the group, an attempt was made to persuade them to emigrate. The authorities were even ready to grant them the right to take their goods and possessions with them in case they would promise not to return. In order to add emphasis to this offer, however, they declared threateningly, that if the Anabaptists did not do this they would "make an example of them such as had never before occurred in the city of Zurich, and that was to send them to the galleys." In order to avoid giving this threat the appearance of persecution on account of religion, they stated that this sentence would be the consequence only of disobedience to the state and not on account of their faith.

Landis awaited his fate with composure. He was already a man of seventy years so that lifelong imprisonment held no fears for him. The value of his property in any case would not have been sufficient to enable him to emigrate with his wife and children. Finally he declared openly that the authorities had no right to send the Anabaptists out of the country "for the earth is the Lord's." Isler asked the authorities whether they could with a good conscience use such means. Many Anabaptists could not agree to emigrate on account of their numerous children. And Zehnder added, "We would not fear to go over sea and water since they were also the creation of God."

The conscience to which Isler appealed could not function in the council meeting of August 5, 1614, for stronger than conscience was the fear for the stability of the Christian ecclesiastical order and the government which they thought to be in danger. It was decided to sentence the six Anabaptists to six years on the galleys and for this purpose to send them to the French ambassador in Solothurn. The accused were given time for consideration which they could use even after their departure for Solothurn. Isler, Meili, and Degia decided after a hard struggle to emigrate and were sent across the border on August 28th. Isler, who in spite of this, secretly visited in his home, later was called again before the court. Landis, Fuchs, and Zehnder were taken on August 14 to Solothurn.

The execution of the decree of the court caused quite a stir and only increased the sympathy of the people for the Anabaptists. In Berne a high ransom actually was offered for the freedom of the condemned. When they were in prison in Solothurn someone gave them a file with which they were able to file their chains and escape through the open door in a little courtyard along the city wall from whence they were able to climb over the wall and flee. Small wonder

that it was said an angel had opened the door of the prison for them. Landis hurried home to wife and child. The severity of the sentences had not kept people away from the Anabaptists but had rather brought new converts. Landis baptized these and also performed a marriage ceremony. All this took place in great secrecy, and it seems that not only the Anabaptists stuck close together but that also their neighbors protected them. The magistrate of Wädenswil could not learn anything about the escapees since "everybody sympathized with them and warned them, so that nobody could be trusted."

The three were finally caught again and another attempt was made to win them by spiritual arguments. Landis possessed a high degree of Bible knowledge and answered skillfully that he could not belong to the church so long as wicked and immoral people were not excluded from the church by the ban. At his first hearing he also gave some information concerning the support of the poor by the Anabaptists. After the harvest about fifteen bushels of grain had been stored in the house of Rudolph Staub at Hirzel, most of which, however, had already been distributed to the poor. His own brother had been supported about twenty years before as a poor man, and the latter's son, who had prospered, had donated the grain to the congregation out of gratitude. The congregation had no store of wine, and also no income since they gave loans to the poor without interest. He refused to name any other Anabaptist ministers. The hearings reveal Landis more clearly as a man who was firmly established in his faith, for neither "proofs" nor threats were able to turn him from his way "since he had given himself to God and was ready to await what God would let come upon him." Only this inner assurance was able to give him the fearlessness and the wisdom with which he was able to answer all questions put to him. When they asked him whether he would recognize a government established by God he answered, "Yes, if it would perform what God commanded it to do."

Since nothing had been accomplished, the clergy on September 14, 1614, began to threaten with the death sentence, which Landis should have to suffer, not on account of his faith, but as a disobedient rebel. To this sophistry Landis replied with the warning not to sin against him. When he was again informed that he was to be punished only because of his refusal to leave the country he replied as he had earlier done, "The earth is the Lord's and not man's," and that God gave to them the right to be in the land as well as to all others. It was the uprightness and steadfastness which

"the leader of this sect" manifested and which was of such influence upon supporters and friends, which was so offensive to the leaders of the Zurich church and state. They were ready to go the extreme limit, and it was for this reason that they called him a rebel, who "wanted to be his own lord and master regardless of the honorable authorities," which "would lead to the destruction of all governmental authority established by God, and the end of all obedience of subjects." Such a "rebellion and stubborn seditious resistance of wicked people" could not be tolerated by any authority. On September 29, therefore, the Burgomaster and Council of Zurich condemned him to death by the sword because of *lese majeste*. However, these charges did not succeed in diminishing the stature of Landis in the eyes of his supporters and in large sections of the population. He was everywhere recognized as a pious God-fearing man, and his brave facing of death only increased his reputation.

As Landis was led out of prison to the place of execution at the Fischmarkt, he called out to the weeping people along the way, "Do not weep for me, for I, I hope, shall accomplish a good journey." He was accompanied the entire route by preachers of the state church, who were to convert the stubborn man. However, with the inner assurance of a man who believes in his own eternal salvation, he not only refused to accept their instructions, but himself earnestly admonished them, saying that the life of the preachers, not being in accord with the apostles, was to blame that "the longer the world stands the more wicked it becomes," and he warned them they would fare as had the foolish virgins. They were showing much more reverence toward the authorities than toward God. Finally he said that he had forgiven all men, and with a glance at the executioner said, "and you too," and smiled at him. Having arrived at the place of execution, he proclaimed his confession of faith, whereupon the executioner said to him, "Well, my grandfather Hans, you have been looking forward for a long time with joy to this hour?" Whereupon Landis answered, "Yes, indeed, I have long looked forward with joy to this hour," for in this hour he would see God. He refused the prayer of the preachers and prayed for himself. Finally the executioner addressed him with friendly words and summoned him to speak "what is in your heart, for now no one will interrupt you." Landis answered briefly, "I know not what more I should say, than that I wish that all men would come to a knowledge of their sins and repent, that they might be saved; this I would wish for all men." Thereupon he knelt down and received the stroke of the sword on his neck. The executioner

unloosed his chains and spoke deeply moved, "God knows that I am innocent of this man's blood."

The deep impression made by this courageous death is evidenced by three reports written by uskilled hands, all of which include the statement, "and so died the pious Hans Landis, a leader in the church of God."

But the tragedy was not yet ended, for the authorities feared that if they should permit the widow and children to live in their house which had now been confiscated by the state, a "new nest and hiding-place of Anabaptist teaching would develop." For this reason the family was summoned to Zurich in February, 1615, and the widow, Margereta, née Hochstrasser, was imprisoned in the city hall. However, she neither desired to recant nor to emigrate since as one already past sixty years of age she "expected soon to come to her natural end." They finally decided to imprison her in chains in the "Spital" in the expectation or hope that the sermons given to the sick would ultimately cause her to change her attitude.

It is clear that the execution of Hans Landis, as well as the confiscation of the property of the exiled Anabaptists, ultimately brought results, and the most steadfast had to leave the land. However, the Anabaptists did not disappear altogether, and after they had been left in peace for some time, the battle against them was renewed in the 1630's. In Horgen and Hirzel in 1636 eight Anabaptists are named, of whom three belong to the Landis family. One, Rudi Suners, came from a family of Dutch weavers who had been established here, and for whom Hans Landis performed the marriage. Again the attempt was made to win the Anabaptists by discussions. On July 8, 1636, Rudolph Baumann of Horgen took part. Again there was no success, and in the following year a large number were arrested. However, they remained in contact with their brethren by mail from the prison in Ötenbach and were encouraged by the brethren at home to be steadfast.

Hans Landis (possibly a son of the executed minister) addressed a letter to his wife, which is a moving testimony to the earnestness of his faith and his sense of responsibility for the rearing of his children. He admonishes his wife above all to rear the children in such a way that they should "pray and read and become God-fearing." His son Heinrich he urged to take care of "Hirzi," "Brandi," and "Bruni" on the meadow. Although he was often in his thoughts at Hirzel, in spite of his lonely imprisonment, he was still not so far removed but that he could ask for sausage and meat. However, ultimately his property—house and land and a

half house, two barns and land for eight cows together with the cattle—which he had been able to acquire after the confiscation of his father's property, were confiscated and his household dissolved. The children were to be put to work or be hired out. The farm was sold by the authorities for seventy-two hundred pounds to Jägli Treichler in Horgen. This price would indicate that Hans Landis was one of the most well-to-do Anabaptists. By 1640 most of the Anabaptists were in prison. For instance, in September, 1640, Kaspar Landis, a nephew of Felix Landis, was in the Wellenberg. In 1640 and the following years the property of these prisoners was confiscated and sold. Among them, in addition to Hans Landis, were Jacob Rusterholz, Felix Landis, Conrad Strickler-Landis, Hans Rudolph Baumann-Landis, Uli Furrer-Hofmann, Oswald Landis-Schappy, Hans Huber-Syfrig, Hans Jägli-Asper, Elisabeth Hofstetter, the widow of Heinrich Ritter, Barbara Bruppach, Hans Jägli Landis-Pfister, and Michel Bruppach's widow, Verena. Most of the properties amounted to only a few hundred pounds. Only the farmer Felix Landis' property brought more than six thousand pounds, that of Hans Jägli Landis two thousand nine hundred thirty-one pounds, and that of Jacob Rusterholz almost as much. The income from the sale was used, of course, to pay the cost of the Anabaptist trials and imprisonment, and the remainder was assigned to the heirs who might join the state church. Of the property of Hans Landis, which had reached the sum of eleven thousand pounds, four thousand pounds was confiscated by the authorities on account of the disobedience of the parents. Of course, the Hallauer-gütli of the Anabaptist congregation was also confiscated and sold. These measures meant, in essence, the destruction of the Anabaptist congregation. Their chief leaders had been forced to emigrate and were economically broken. However, the spirit of religious separation continued to live in the region. In 1725 there are reports of "independents" and of such as were inclined to religious separation. In 1734, on the other hand, there was not much more to be heard of such people since the few "dissidents" had moved away, although it was expected that they might return.

THE ANABAPTISTS AND MENNONITES OF EAST PRUSSIA

Horst Penner

THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF EAST PRUSSIA

Old Prussia, which was formerly the land of the Teutonic Knights, in the course of its historical development was divided into the two provinces of East Prussia and West Prussia. East Prussia with certain frontier rectifications, became the Duchy of Prussia, while West Prussia was taken over by Poland. Prussia had its name from the Prussians,[1] a Baltic people related to the Lithuanians and the Latvians but not to the Germans. This territory, the most northeasterly province of the German empire of 1914, is hemmed in on the west by a chain of upland lakes, on the east by the great frontier forests, and on the south by the Masurian Lakes. The north approach on the Baltic Sea side is blocked by sand bars and affords small possibility for boats to approach the land. As a result the land of the Prussians was still foreign to Christianity when the Gospel message had already been proclaimed all around it. Since this territory to a large extent later was for centuries the homeland of many German Mennonites, it will be desirable to give a brief survey of the special character of the Christian history of this region.

In the year 997 the missionary bishop, Adalbert of Prag, was murdered by the heathen Prussians as he entered the holy forest of Romowe, in the first stages of his missionary effort. The pilgrimages to Gnesen where his bones were buried were a reminder of the tragic failure of this first attempt. For over two hundred years all attempts to Christianize this region failed because of the obstinacy of the heathen population, and when the Cistercian monk Christian of Oliva was designated Bishop of Prussia by the pope at the beginning of the thirteenth century, he remained only a titular bishop, for when Christian, in alliance with the Polish Duke Conrad of Masowie, led a crusading army into this heathen land the Prussians destroyed the very beginnings which had been made of Christianity in their homeland and carried the war even further into the land of the Polish Duke.

[1] The original name of this tribe was "Prussen." The later racial group called "Preussen" was a new group which arose out of the mixture of "Prussen" with German immigrants.

In their extremity Conrad and Christian turned to the grand master of the Order of the Teutonic Knights, Herman of Salza in Venice, saying probably, "What sense does it make for Germans to go on a crusade to the East when heathenism lurks at our borders in the North. Let the Teutonic Knights take up a crusade into this land." As a consequence, the Knights, an association of monastic warriors living under rigorous discipline, came into this land in the year 1226. They came not only to undertake a crusade, but to found a state. The bitter resistance of the Prussians led to the necessity to colonize the countryside with German peasants from the West in order to guarantee the security of the country. Middle class German craftsmen and tradesmen were also brought into the towns. The adventurous knights found it simpler to go on a crusade into Prussia than into the Holy Land, and as a consequence subdued the land of the Prussians in a sixty-year struggle, which was often fought with the utmost brutality on both sides. The remnants of the Prussians were gradually assimilated in the stream of German colonists. The Baltic-Prussian language disappeared, and a new race arose with the name of "Preussen." An organized state now developed, ruled by a monkish order to whom even the bishops of the land were subject. In a few short decades the new state with hundreds of new villages developed into an economic and political power, constantly renewing its strength through connection with the medieval German Empire.

The plains on both sides of the lower Vistula which were inhabited by the Slavic tribe of the Pomeranians, as well as the German port city of Danzig at the mouth of the Vistula, which had been an apple of discord between Brandenburg and Poland, were also finally occupied by the Order. Conrad of Masowie had soon observed that the national differences between the Poles and the Germans were greater than their common Christian faith. He may well have said in the words of the magician's apprentice (in Goethe's *Zauberlehrling),* "The spirits which I have conjured up I shall never be rid of." The differences led to a war in which the knights occupied the entire northern valley of the Vistula, that broad gateway to the East. As the Order increased in strength Pomerania, which had already become Christian, was given to it as far as the river Netze by the Peace of Kalisch. The immigrant stream of German peasants and townsmen continued to flow eastward, while at the same time the savage tribe of the Lithuanians threatened on the East in repeated attacks against the long wall of fortresses built there by the knights. What would happen when

from both the East and the South the wild hordes of the steppes would unite in a joint attack on the island of the young Prussian state? At first this possibility of an attack from all sides remained only a threat, but it became a reality in 1410 when Jagiello, uniting the Lithuanians and Poles under his reign, invaded the territory of the knights and destroyed the beginnings of the young state. In the second peace of Thorn in 1466, Poland received all the land west of the Vistula together with the rich city of Danzig in addition to the territory of Culm, Marienburg, Elbing and the Bishopric of Ermland. The Grand Master of the order was compelled to submit to the Polish king in order to retain the remnant of his state in the East. Indeed, ever since the Lithuanian heathen together with their king Jagiello were baptized en masse, the inner justification for the existence of the Teutonic Knights Order was gone and the Order itself, once strictly organized as a monastic group, now became merely an organization in the interest of the new nobility, knowing little of the high morality, strict discipline, and harsh obedience, which the ancient rule of the Order required. Its Master struggled helplessly against bending the knee to his Slavic liege lord.

THE REFORMATION IN THE DUCHY OF PRUSSIA

Albrecht of Hohenzollern tried once more the fortunes of war with an army of mercenaries which consumed the land like a plague of grasshoppers as he tried to free his territory from the Poles. The western part of his land, the Oberland, became a desert as the young Master waged his uncertain struggle in a time when the bells of the Reformation had already begun to ring far over the land. The Prussian people had long since observed that there was little piety left in the Order, and in protest accepted the Protestant faith. On Christmas day, 1523, the Bishop of Samland as the chief and first prince of the church, proclaimed the Evangelical faith in the cathedral at Königsberg. The news of this act probably came to the Netherlands very early, for the inner break with the Romish Church had already gone further there than in the land of the original Reformation in Germany.

ONLY ONE COURSE OF ACTION WAS OPEN TO ALBRECHT

Albrecht of Hohenzollern had only one way to go if he was to save his state. Upon Luther's counsel he and the great majority of the members of the Order in Prussia accepted Protestantism. Prussia made peace with Poland, and in 1525 became an hereditary

Duchy under the loose suzerainty of Poland. The secularization of the Order was an unheard-of act in those times. The pope thundered his ban against the ex-master. Emperor Charles V put the curse of the empire upon him, the same emperor who had begun to issue decrees against the heretics in his Dutch crown lands since 1521, and now from the year 1525 on went to work in an all-out campaign of persecution. While the martyr pyres burst into flame numerous Protestants fled to foreign countries to escape a martyr's death. The escape route for many of these people who lived near the sea naturally went by way of the sea toward the East out of the territory of the emperor. Secret consultations in the offices of shipowners no doubt often led to the decision to choose Prussia as the destination. The shipowner may well have advised his clients in the year 1527 somewhat as follows: "For decades, yes for centuries, our people have been sailing to the East to Danzig, Elbing and Königsberg. Our flag is the most common one to be seen on the coast of Prussia. I have had many ships built there. Many of our people are living in the Prussian coastal towns such as Danzig. So you will not come into a totally strange country. I will give you the names of my business associates with whom you can find hospitality. Inasmuch as you cannot go to Danzig where last year the King of the Poles, aroused by the example of our emperor, carried through a bloody persecution of the Lutherans, nor to Elbing, where since last year, at the command of the Poles, every boat arriving in the harbor is required to send its captain and its crew to the city hall for an examination as to whether they are pious people so that whoever professes a foreign teaching is not permitted to go on land, it is better if you go to Königsberg. The Duke needs people for his devastated country and he has offered favorable terms of colonization through his agents. You who have money will find security there from the torturers of our majesty. But the Duke wants farmers first of all, who can again bring land under cultivation which has been devastated again and again by almost a century of internal and external war. You will have to live in a land in which only the coarsest food and clothing are available and the common man doesn't know anything about writing materials."

With such thoughts and considerations no doubt, two Dutchmen, Heinrich Clauszon, and Thomas Lorentzon of St. Martin (a village in North Holland), negotiated in January, 1527, with Duke Albrecht and his councilors in Königsberg regarding the settlement of a large number of their compatriots in the northwest corner of

the Duchy, in the territory of Preussisch Holland, not far from the city of Elbing in Polish Prussia. On January 31, 1527, an agreement was signed between the two gentlemen and a group of Dutch refguees who were assigned the villages of Thierbach, Schmauch, Bardeyn, Liebenau, Plehnen, and Robitten in this territory, with a total land area of 5400 hectares, on condition of their promise to settle 100 families there. These villages were occupied almost exclusively by them, and the land which these first Dutchmen settled, later became the nucleus of a large Mennonite settlement in Northeast Germany. Thus the year 1527 becomes the beginning of the second period of East German colonization, resuming the colonization work of the Teutonic Knights and the East German princes which had been interrupted for more than a hundred years. This time, however, it was not economic but religious need which furnished the chief motivation.[2]

The privileges which were granted the settlers from the Netherlands in 1527 were extraordinary, due to the desire of the Duke to secure these exceptionally high type Hollanders who came from the land which at that time was the cultural center of central and western Europe. They had to pay a high tax, but in exchange were exempted from almost all restrictions upon personal freedom. The Hollanders were to have free choice of their village magistrate (Schulz) and pastor. They constituted their own parishes in which the religious worship was to be conducted in the Dutch language. They were to have their own local courts, and the few native peasants remaining within the area of settlement were to be expelled. The settlers were freed from all taxes in kind as well as all compulsory labor. Only in the case of invasion were they to give militia service; all other military service which the neighboring villages had to perform was cancelled. Here we notice the most extensive freedom at a time when the native peasants were increasingly subjugated to feudal vassalage.

But this settlement in the hilly forest land was not for Hollanders who were used to the sea and the lowlands. As early as 1528 Heinrich Clauszon, the original colonizer, left the territory and settled in Danzig. Repeatedly and constantly in the following years this almost Dutch city tempted the settlers away from their land. On the other hand new refugees from Holland kept coming to Bardeyn and the other villages. There was a constant fluctuation, concerning which Martin Bucer wrote to Ambrosius Blaurer on

[2] The immigrant groups which followed the first Dutch "Sakramentisten" were Anabaptists, Mennonites, Bohemian Brethren, Dutch Reformed, Protestants from Poland, Huguenots, and Salzburgers.

August 14, 1530, although based upon somewhat exaggerated reports. From this letter of the Strasburg reformer it is seen that in Holland it was said that over four thousand Dutchmen had already settled in the Duchy of Prussia and were living under their own laws as a sort of state within a state.[3] Only they had somewhat different theological opinions from the Duke himself who was a Lutheran.[4]

The theological history of the Hollanders in the Duchy of Prussia reflects rather accurately the course of the Reformation in the first decades of its history in the Netherlands. Up to the beginning of the 1530's the immigrants consisted almost altogether of "Sacramentarians,"[5] who differed radically from the Lutherans in their conception of the Lord's Supper. After the middle 1530's, especially after the rise of Melchior Hofmann in the Netherlands, the course of religious development among the Hollanders in Prussia tended more and more in the Anabaptist direction. In the year 1536 Christian Entfelder of Carinthia, from 1526-27 on minister in the Moravian Anabaptist congregation at Eibenschütz, became a ducal councilor and for the following ten years exercised great influence in the court at Königsberg. In February, 1542, Gerhard Westerburg from Cologne, known as an Anabaptist in Frankfurt a. M., became a ducal councilor.

The revolution in Münster, the capture of the Oldekloster at Bolsward by revolutionary Anabaptists in March, 1535, and the attack on the city hall in Amsterdam in May, 1535, stirred up the bitterest persecutions by the authorities in the Netherlands. Not only the revolutionary Anabaptists but also the great mass of peaceful Anabaptists who had nothing to do with revolution, were harried with fire and sword. After the imperial decree of 1529 had threatened the Anabaptists with death, the Diet of Worms in 1535 decreed that no land dare to accept Anabaptists as citizens or subjects. In almost all the territories which belonged to the empire at that time edicts were issued against the Anabaptists, but especially in the Netherlands, which were directly under the control of the

[3] "His dedit suas leges et rem publicam."

[4] ". . . fere omnes spiritualem Christi manducationem agnoscant; princeps ille a Luthero stat. . . ." Printed in Bruno Schumacher: *Niederland. Ansiedlungen im Herzogtum Preussen zur Zeit Herzog Albrechts (1525-1568)* (Leipzig, 1903).

[5] "Sacramentists" were those who denied that eating the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper meant taking part in the real body of Christ, but rather only a spiritual feeding upon Christ. "Die Lehre von der Unwirksamkeit der Sakramente zeigte sich bei den sakramentistischen Holländern in ihrer spiritualistischen Abendmahlsauffassung, die in dem Abendmahl nur ein Gedächtnismahl sahen, das ohne vorherige Erleuchtung durch den Geist völlig zwecklos sei." Cited from Bruno Schumacher, *op. cit.*

emperor, persecutions rose to the highest point of bloody fury. At this time, therefore, distant Prussia, whose ruler was himself under the imperial ban, and whose German land did not belong to the empire and where therefore the imperial decrees had no validity, seemed the last place of refuge for many harried souls. Duke Albrecht himself, under the influence of the influential Friedrich von Heydeck,[6] did not take a negative position to the nonconformist tendencies in his territory, as did the Lutheran clergy of his land.[7] Nevertheless the rulers were somewhat frightened when a company of Moravian Anabaptist refugees,[8] driven out of their native land, arrived in the country in the spring of 1535 coming by the way of Thorn and Graudenz as far as Marienwerder, the seat of the bishop of Pomerania; everyone remembered Münster. After a disputation disclosed their heresy, they were expelled from the country. Nevertheless a portion of them remained behind, protected by the powerful von Heydeck. After the year 1534 almost every boat arriving on the coast of Prussia, particularly in the Polish portion, brought persecuted Anabaptists from Holland. In the early summer of 1536 a certain Johann Solius,[9] an Anabaptist and a follower of Melchior Hofmann, was granted the estate of Robitten near Bardeyn, but near the end of the same year he left his land and went to Danzig. About the same time in the first years following the disturbances in Münster and Amsterdam a number of Anabaptists came to Danzig and the neighboring territory of West Prussia. It is not possible to determine from the meager available evidence whether these were the revolutionary[10] or of the peaceful type.

[6] Heydeck had good connections with Schwenckfeld, and even employed clergy of the spiritualist or Anabaptist type on his estates near Johannesburg. Cf. M. Beheim-Schwarzbach, *Hohenzollersche Kolonisation* (1874), also Schumacher, *op. cit.*, 144-147.

[7] Cellarius, who for some time was close to the Anabaptists and their views of infant baptism, spent some time in Königsberg in 1525. The tolerant attitude of the Duke, as well as the growth of Anabaptism in the Dutch settlements, is evident from a letter written by the Dutch at Bardeyn to the ducal councilor Entfelder in November 1536, where among other things the following passage is found, ". . . Es hat uns polyphemus angesagt, wie das Fürstliche Gnaden die widderteuffer wol dulden wilt, wenn sie ihre kyndern laszen teuffen und nicht uffrur machen, sust dult seyn Fürstliche Gn. sulchen nicht. Szo seynt etliche widder- teuffer iungst manck unss kommen. . . ." (Schumacher, *op. cit.)*

[8] The group included about 60 heads of families, with wives, children, and servants, altogether about 200 persons. See the articles "Ascherham" and "Gabrieler" in the *Menn. Lexikon.*

[9] Johann van Zoolen (Latinized into Solius), probably a physician, traveled in 1550 to the Low Countries to solicit colonists. On December 22 and 23, 1550, he was given a hearing before the Council of Brussels on account of suspicion of being an Anabaptist, but was able to save himself by attacking his former co-religionists. In the course of his testimony he gave much information concerning the Anabaptists in Prussia. It is perhaps for this reason that he was called in Danzig "an untruthful man."

[10] Batenburgers, followers of David Joris, etc.

PEACEFUL ANABAPTISTS IN EAST PRUSSIA

About this time Menno Simons arises in Holland to lead the entire Anabaptist movement into more peaceful channels. His writings point the direction of the movement. His vigorous opposition to the revolutionary elements,[11] against sword and warfare,[12] restore the movement to its pure beginnings.[13] This development takes place also among the Dutch Anabaptists in Prussia. After 1538 the restless wandering back and forth in the Prussian Oberland ceases for a number of years. The Dutch settlers are now concerned not only with finding a temporary place of refuge, but with settling permanently.

For this reason a second area some ten kilometers north of Preussisch Holland, with about 1700 hectares of land, is turned over to the Hollanders in 1539. Thus their total colonization area now covers approximately 71 square kilometers. A number of families negotiate in Königsberg concerning this land with the councilors of the Duke at the end of 1538 under the leadership of Herman Sachs who was already known in Holland as an Anabaptist. The plan is to settle the village of Schönberg first with 680 hectares of land, and later Judendorf and Greulsburg. In matters of religious faith they are to have their own parish and not to be disturbed. They are freed from compulsory labor. All mention of military service is omitted from the agreement (signed February 1, 1539) in contrast to the agreements of 1527 and 1529.[14] It is possible that the Anabaptist settlers requested the omission of this paragraph in order to make it clear that they had nothing to do with the Münsterites.

The Dutch settlers of this period were prompt in the payment of their financial obligations, but they soon aroused the displeasure

[11] In his first writing in 1535 he attacked Johann v. Leiden, in 1541-42 David Joris.

[12] As early as 1538 Menno urges nonresistance in his writing, *Von der Neuen Kreatur*. "They are children of peace, who have made their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks and know of no war."

[13] In 1526 the Zurich Anabaptists were brought to trial: Konrad Grebel, Felix Manz, and George Blaurock declared themselves against war as contrary to the commands of God.

[14] The first contracts of 1527 and 29 obligate all settlers to "zuallen . . . geschreien, herfarten und lantweren, wen, wie dick und offt Sie vonn uns, unnseren erben und nachkommen gefordert und geheischen werdenn, wie andere unnsere underthan uns gewertig unnd zu dinen gehorsam sein unnd erscheinen." I do not agree with Schumacher who holds that the ground for omitting the paragraph was the more peaceful times. In 1527 two leaders speak for the entire group; in 1539 on the contrary, each future landowner is named individually in the contracts, a principle which is followed in all later Mennonite colonization contracts and rent agreements, such as for instance in Orlofferfelde in 1601.

of Bishop Speratus in ecclesiastical matters. From his letter of complaint to the Duke in 1542 it is clear that the Dutch settlers paid no attention to the Lord's Supper or to baptism, that they did not go to the Lutheran preacher's services, and that above all they resisted the application of the Prussian church discipline. Thus far they had had one preacher, but he had died. Now they were meeting each Sunday in the house of his widow who read to them out of the Bible in spite of the fact that it was forbidden that they should have their own pastor and "preach in a corner."[15] All of these things make it clear that the group was actually a little settlement of peaceful Dutch Anabaptists.

The above conditions were quickly brought to an end by the ecclesiastical investigation ordered by the Duke at the request of the Bishop and his councilors. In January and February, 1543, the representatives of the Hollanders at Bardeyn in Schmauch submitted a written statement to the officials of Schönberg in Mühlhausen stating that in the matter of the Lord's Supper and baptism they disagreed with the Prussian church discipline. They were thereupon commanded to leave the country by Pentecost of the same year in order to permit their farms to be occupied by people with pure doctrine. Only a small minority surrendered in order to remain on their land promising to give up their faith and to follow the Prussian Lutheran church discipline. The rest remained true to their faith. But even those who "converted" were subject to continuous suspicion by Bishop Speratus. He had good reason to be concerned, for in 1550 he again had to threaten with expulsion those who manifested the same "heresy."

This first Anabaptist settlement in Prussia was in fact destroyed by the order of expulsion of 1543. It is true that occasional new settlements appeared later.[16] For instance Tönnies Florissen was the magistrate of the village of Schönberg from 1557 on. He was the only one to pay taxes up to 1561 in spite of the fact that he actually owned his land in common with other Mennonites in the Danzig "Werder." Schönberg was maintained only temporarily as a special reserve for settlement until 1562 when large land

[15] Bishop Speratus, in 1542 in his writing entitled "Gebrechen zu Schmauch," says ". . . Es ist zcu bardein yr prediger gestorben, aber szein nachgelaszene wytwe szal alle Sontage noch leszen, und zcu der sollen sie sich noch vorsamlen. . ."

[16] Johann Solius was negotiating after Martini 1556 with Duke Albrecht to find a colonization possibility for a larger group of Dutchmen who had found a temporary refuge in Danzig. In 1558 this group was given Greulsberg, Wiese and Breite Wiese for settlement. But the mere rumor of an investigation regarding their faith disturbed them so much that they forsook their new homes and returned to Danzig. "Merten klaus . . . dieser als er vernomen die inquisition der wiederteuffer halben. . .., is davon gezogen." (Bericht über die Holländer a. 1559).

areas were opened to the Mennonites for settlement in the district of Tiegenhof. When this occurred it was no longer necessary to hold fast to the 70 square kilometers of territory in the Oberland, which in fact had already been surrendered to a large extent, and which was not very satisfactory land to the Dutch farmers who were not used to the hilly forest land, and who were not permitted to have their own religious life because of Lutheran intolerance.

The same fate which befell the Dutch colony in the Oberland also befell the Hollanders who settled in large numbers in the environs of Königsberg especially at Rossgarten after the middle of the 1520's. In spite of the fact that these people had support from their compatriots at the court[17] they ultimately had to leave Königsberg for religious reasons. In the year 1543 there was an ecclesiastical investigation[18] in Rossgarten conducted by the pastor, which disclosed divergences in regard to the Lord's Supper and baptism.

The Anabaptists from the Oberland settled again at least in part as colonists in the year 1547[19] in the flooded lands of the Danzig "Werder." The Königsberg Anabaptists also most probably settled in the main in Danzig or Elbing,[20] which would account for the growth in number of the Anabaptists in these cities and their environs in the following years.

The Anabaptists who were moved out of the Duchy in 1543 to the Danzig "Werder" and Polish Prussia belonged in the great majority to that type which were later called Mennonites, inasmuch as no other Anabaptist type than these peaceful Mennonites is

[17] Polyphem—court librarian; Pyrseus—court physician, and ducal councilor; Gnapheus after July 1541 ducal councilor, previously 1531-1539 rector of the school in Elbing and a noted teacher. From Elbing already the reputation of Gnapheus had preceded him to Königsberg, where the clergy became suspicious of him as one who was "not unlearned and unskilled in the Scripture" but "somewhat inclined to Anabaptistic or other fanatical sects." (Schumacher, *op. cit.,* 57). In 1544 he became director of the pedagogical school at Königsberg and professor of pedagogy at the new University of Königsberg, where he also occasionally gave theological lectures. In 1547, however, he was tried on religious grounds and expelled from Prussia. In 1554 Gnapheus subjected himself again to an examination in Königsberg, which did not lead to the hoped-for restoration to the university, but probably was the occasion for the decision of the Königsberg Academy of the same year to include in its requirements that each professor must swear neither to defend nor approve the doctrine of the Anabaptists. (Menn. Lex. II, 538).

[18] The investigations are to be explained by the change in the religious attitude of the Duke, who had maintained a freer point of view until the death of Freiherr von Heydeck in 1536, particularly in the matter of the Lord's Supper, but thereafter yielded to the "orthodox" pressure of the clergy particularly in regard to the growing Anabaptist movement.

[19] Cf. Horst Penner, *Ansiedlung Mennonitischer Niederländer im Weichselmündungsgebiet bis zum Beginn der preuss. Zeit* (in Schriftenreihe des mennonit. Gesch. *Vereins,* nr. 3, Weierhof, 1940), 67f.

[20] Cf. Schumacher, *op. cit.,* Anmerkung 155.

mentioned in Prussia after this time.[21] Menno Simons himself visited the Anabaptists here in 1549.[22] His chief co-worker Dirk Philips labored in Emden and Danzig[23] after the years 1536 and is considered the founder of the Danzig Mennonite Church. He died in Danzig in 1567.

The Anabaptists could not find a permanent home in the Duchy of Prussia in the century of the Reformation, since the political and social developments in this land followed other directions. As the bishops had been under the authority of the sovereign of the land since the time of the Teutonic Knights, the monarchical episcopal system was adopted without difficulty in the new Evangelical Church Constitution. Under these circumstances an ecclesiastical organization based upon the congregational principle of the Anabaptists could not survive in view of the law and the low level of culture attained by the East Prussian population. Although in the first ten years in the history of the Reformation in this region the free church tendency held the balance alongside of the state church tendency, through the influence of the powerful Freiherr von Heydeck, after 1536 the Lutheran state church concept won the victory in the Duchy through the influence of the clergy, primarily because the Reformation had been brought about in Prussia in 1525 by their influence with Luther's help. Luther became therefore more and more the final authority in Prussia in religious matters.

The colony of Anabaptists in East Prussia therefore constituted an anachronism. Their manner of life in economic affairs as well as in political and religious organizations[24] was built up upon democratic principles which they had learned in the city-republican culture of their homeland. That manner of life presupposed a level of culture and education both of the group and the individual[25]

[21] In a petition of 1582 the Mennonites in the Danzig "Werder" had declared, that in their settling 30 years earlier they had informed the Danzig Council "dasz sie keine Rotten, Sekten oder Aufrührern noch Münsterschen noch andern anhengig, sondern in Ruhe und friede begehren zu sitzen und der gebührenden Obrigkeit in allem, was nicht wider Gott und unser Gewissen ist, den schuldigen gehorzam zu leisten." (H. G. Mannhardt, *Die Danziger Mennonitengemeinde. Ihre Entstehung und ihre Geschichte von 1569-1919.* (Danzig 1919), 39.

[22] Menno addressed a letter "To the Church in Prussia" on October 7, 1549.

[23] *Menn. Lex.* III, 227; II, 179.

[24] The office of village magistrate rotated in brief intervals (1 year, 5 years) by election in the village, in contrast to the otherwise customary inherited magistracy based upon the Culm law and operating on the monarchical principle.

[25] "Wenn die Gemeinde selbst aus ihrer Mitte die Männer wählt, welche ihr als Diener am Wort vorstehen sollen . . . dann haben wir eine höhere Entwicklung des christl. Gemeindelebens vor uns, als wenn die Gemeinden durch obrigkeitl. Verfügung mit Predigern versorgt werden, oder sich aus einer Reihe von Bewerbern einen aussuchen, der als Fremdling zu ihnen kommt und das Vertrauen erst gewinnen muss,

which could not possibly have existed at that time in the Duchy of Prussia[26] and which in these decades was probably to be found only in the Netherlands. By contrast in West Prussia, or Polish Prussia as it was called at that time, the conditions were much more favorable for the Anabaptists.

Nevertheless many of them continued to live in East Prussia after 1543, especially in Königsberg.[27] Evidence of this is found in the fact that they submitted a petition to the sovereign in 1579 in which they gave an exposition of their chief doctrines and requested freedom of settlement. They received a negative answer[28] "because first of all they held in contempt the holy sacrament of infant baptism"; in fact they were to leave the land by May 1. This order of expulsion, however, was not strictly carried out. The language of the decree[29] makes it evident that Markgraf Friedrich, who at that time was the regent, would gladly have tolerated them if he had not been compelled to oppose them because of the laws of the land and the evangelical church discipline. In any case the decree was more for the purpose of quieting the disturbed spirits of the orthodox clergy rather than to punish the Mennonites, as is evident from the fact that in the following period repeated church and school investigations[30] brought out the fact that "all kinds of sects, especially the Anabaptists" had settled in the Duchy. Later decrees of expulsion proved the same thing, for they were issued every few decades. In the year 1669 the Mennonites received more toleration. At that time they were permitted to enter the land as businessmen, but were not permitted to settle permanently either in the city or the surrounding country, but were required to return to their point of origin as soon as their business was completed. In spite of this, at this time some of them acquired property. A church, however, was not established at this time.

THE LATER MENNONITE CONGREGATIONS IN EAST PRUSSIA AS DAUGHTER SETTLEMENTS OF THE WEST PRUSSIAN CONGREGATIONS

Pietism and Rationalism began to strike broad breaches in the hard dogmatism of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in East

das dem in der Mitte der Gemeinschaft von Brüdern und Schwestern aufgewachsenen, im Gemeinschaftsleben bereits bewahrten, nach Charakter und Lebenswandel bekannten Manne schon lange gehört." (Mannhardt, *op. cit.*, 160 ff.)

[26] The Low Countries were civilized and christianized some five hundred years earlier than the Prussians.

[27] Gnapheus gave bond in 1546 at Kneiphof for an Anabaptist from Holland. (Schumacher, *op. cit.*, 335.)

[28] Beheim-Schwarzbach, *op. cit.*, 150.

[29] *Ibidem.*

[30] In the years 1585, 1586, 1641, 1661, 1679, 1689.

Prussia in the eighteenth century. The toleration toward the Reformed and Catholics which had been practiced for almost a hundred years in the Duchy, was now extended to the Mennonites. Ever since King Friedrick I had tried with all his might, without success however, to persuade the six hundred Mennonite families which fled out of Switzerland in 1710 to settle in his East Prussian land, which had been decimated by the terrible pestilence of that time, particularly in the almost totally destroyed villages in the district of Lithuania, a new era had begun for Mennonite history in East Prussia.

The colonization efforts of the West Prussian Mennonites in the eighteenth century were concentrated at two places, Königsberg and Memel. In Königsberg itself since 1716 craftsmen and tradesmen had settled with the permission of the authorities. They distilled a special kind of brandy of Danzig origin, produced fine shoes, and manufactured also special yarns of English style, thus bringing crafts to Königsberg which hitherto had not been found there at all or only in an imperfect state. In the year 1722 a small but rather prosperous congregation was established here whose members came mostly from Danzig and Elbing, but also to a lesser extent from Holland direct. In 1735 this young congregation had twenty-two families, later under Fredrick the Great thirty-five families. In spite of their small number they had built a meeting-house in 1769 and on the same piece of land two poorhouses with room for six families.

From 1845 on the Königsberg congregation had an educated minister in the person of Karl Harder, who came out of the ranks of the congregation. The first sermon preached by Harder in Elbing so pleased the people there that a portion of the Elbing congregation, primarily the city members, joined the Königsberg group and built a separate meetinghouse in Elbing where Harder regularly served them.

The second area in which the West Prussian Mennonites settled after 1713 was the territory of the delta of the Memel River and its left branch the Gige. Here the Mennonite farmers found better land for settlement than their forefathers had found in the forests and hilly land of Preussisch Holland. They came by boat from the delta of the Vistula to the new homeland, coming primarily out of the region of Culm and Graudenz. They constituted a congregation of the Friesian type.

The colonization contract here included many of the same provisions which their forefathers had been granted 200 years

before in the Oberland. They were promised freedom of religion and conversion, were permitted to choose their own village magistrate, and were granted authority to divide their land among themselves as they saw fit. It is clear that they secured the right to acquire an area of land for which they paid much money, in order to arrange everything according to their own desires. They wanted to have their religious, political, and economic life according to their own ideas, and to develop themselves independently, at a time when almost everything in Prussia was dictated by an absolute monarch.

The delta of the Memel with its excellent meadows afforded the Mennonites almost the same conditions of living as in West Prussia. Their skill in cattle breeding and butter- and cheese-making gave them a great advantage over the native population in the land round about them. In 1723 for instance they had already delivered 3700 hundred weight of so-called "Mennonite cheese" to the market in Tilsit. This cheese later on became known throughout all East Germany as Tilsit cheese.

In the very next year an order of expulsion from the Memel delta was issued by the authorities and consequently a temporary suspension to Mennonite colonization in this area was the result. Frederick William I did not want to tolerate people in his land who were not willing to become soldiers. Only the Königsberg Mennonite merchants and manufacturers with their high tax payments which were essential to the Prussian treasury were permitted to remain. It was only by a later decree of Frederick the Great, a man who was filled with the spirit of religious toleration, which he issued shortly after his assumption of the throne and in which he promised that Mennonites like all subjects in his kingdom should have freedom of religion, that the way was again opened to the Mennonites for new settlement in this region. A congregation thus arose here which in the year 1772 was composed of 300 souls, and in the year 1890 reached its high point with 743 baptized and unbaptized Mennonites living within the district of Gumbinnen.

In summary we can say that in the first twenty-five years after the Reformation East Prussia was a place of refuge for the Anabaptists from Holland at a time when all other countries persecuted them by fire and sword. It was the ex-master of the German Teutonic Knights who first gave the persecuted Anabaptist farmers of Holland a chance to settle in Old Prussia. In more recent times, however, the situation has changed and since the evacuation in 1945, following the Prussian invasion, the East Prussian Mennonites are no more.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SAMUEL YODER (1824-1884)

John Andrew Hostetler

For more than one hundred and fifty years the Kishacoquillas Valley in Mifflin County, Pennsylvania, has been a nestling place for the Amish people. Protected by mountains on either side, this thirty mile long valley is a complete unit with natural entrance only through gaps. Within these walls is an agricultural landscape never more beautiful than in spring or harvest time. Viewed from the top of Jack's Mountain, hundreds of fields in various shades of green and yellow form a patchwork which could not be duplicated by the Amish inhabitants, famous for their beautiful quilts. If the glory and beauty of the physical surroundings would produce healthy people, the inhabitants of Big Valley would be among the most favored. But the story of the Amish and Mennonites in Mifflin County is both thrilling and distressing. In the perspective of American Amish and Mennonite history, Mifflin County is a child of Lancaster County. But it has not made the profound impression in the main stream of Amish and Mennonite life as has Lancaster County. When the Amish left the strongholds of Lancaster and Berks counties and pushed westward, many passed through Big Valley. Some who settled in Mifflin County eventually moved farther west to Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, Missouri, and North Dakota. For various reasons Mifflin County has in the past been a kind of "jumping off place" for Amish who moved to the west.

The task in this study is to unfold the life of Samuel Yoder of Mifflin County, who was ordained deacon in 1850 and bishop in 1864, and who lived through a stormy period in Amish and Mennonite history. He was one of the few church leaders of Mifflin County whose spirit and influence extended far beyond his own circle, into Ohio, Maryland, New York, Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa. The two general aspects of his life considered here will deal with his work as a bishop and his contribution to the Amish Conferences (Diener Versammlungen), 1862-1878. Fortunately the minutes of these conferences have been preserved, and complete files are located in the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen, Indiana.

Samuel Yoder was the oldest son of the family of three sons of Jacob Yoder[1] and Nancy Kauffman,[2] born September 23, 1824,

[1] Jacob Yoder was the son of Jacob Yoder married to Catharine Blank, who was the son of Yost Yoder, the son of Barbara Yoder, widow, whose husband died at sea on his way to America. See *Hertzler Genealogy,* p. 136.

[2] Nancy Kauffman was the daughter of Christian Kauffman who was the son

in Brown Township, Mifflin County, Pennsylvania, near Woodland, about ten miles north of Belleville. His two brothers were John and Jacob.[3] When Samuel was six years old his father was instantly killed when he fell from a barn roof. At the age of twenty-five (1849) he married Elizabeth Byler (1830-1912), daughter of Solomon Byler (1799-1888) of Belleville, Pennsylvania.[4] Their family of children consisted of seven: Nancy (1850-1920), married to Jacob K. Zook; Levi B. (1852-1928), married to Elizabeth Hartzler; Sarah (Sally) (1855-1944), married to David Hostetler; Rachel, married to John D. Yoder; Molly (1860-1939), married to Samuel B. Zook; Rebecca (1862), died in infancy; and Elizabeth (1866-1898), married to Abner Detweiler. The children married partners in the home community and all lived there except for two, Levi B. and Rachel, who moved to North Dakota with their families in 1903.

A review of the church setting in Mifflin County up to the time of Samuel Yoder's ordination to the office of deacon in 1850 is essential to the understanding of the problems of the times in which he lived. Up to 1850, there were no Mennonite settlers in the county; they were Amish, having come from Lancaster, Berks, Chester, and Union counties. The first Amish name to appear on the official records of the county is Christian Zook who warranted land in Union township in 1792, three years after the county was organized.[5] Those who purchased land in 1793 were John Yotter, John Zook, John Hooley, Jacob Yotter and Christian Yotter.[6] John Hertzler followed in 1794. The first Amish minister in Mifflin County was "Long" Christian Zook, also one of the settlers of the nineties.[7] Hans Beiler,[8] the first Amish bishop of Mifflin County

of Jacob Kauffman who immigrated to America in 1754. See *Kauffman Genealogy,* p. 665.

[3] John Yoder was an ordained minister in the Peachey Church and Jacob was a dealer in horses. Because the father died early in their life, all of the three sons in local circles were called by their mother's name, "Nancy Sam," "Nancy John," and "Nancy Jake."

[4] The ties between Solomon Byler and Samuel Yoder were not only in kinship, but they co-operated as fellow laborers in the church for many years.

[5] John Martin Stroup and Raymond Martin Bell, *The Genesis of Mifflin County, Pennsylvania,* (Lewistown), 1939, 47.

[6] As shown by the deed books at Lewistown.

[7] "Long" Christian Zook was a son of Jonathan Zook who was the son of Moritz Zug, a native of Switzerland, who landed in America in 1742. He resided on the farm now owned by Joseph L. Peachey, near the present Kishacoquillas Valley Mennonite School.

[8] Bishop Hans Beiler (1761-1842), known as "Hansley," was the third son of Christopher Beiler of Switzerland who landed in America with his father Jacob on October 8, 1737. He resided on the farm now owned by Joseph A. Yoder, near the Allensville Mennonite cemetery.

and a native of Lancaster County, did not appear on the scene until a congregation had already been organized. He then served as bishop of the Valley church from 1806 until his death in 1842. The Amish settlement had grown to such an extent that by 1850 the church was divided into three districts: (1) the Lower in charge of two bishops, "Long" Christian Zook and Shem Yoder; (2) the Middle with Bishop Solomon (Beiler) Byler;[9] and (3) the Upper with Bishop Abraham (Pitsche) Peachey[10] presiding.

At the time of the Samuel King division, 1849, Samuel Yoder had not yet been elected to a church office, and his name is not found among the records of this dispute. But having reached the age of twenty-five it can be safely assumed that he was keenly aware of the issues involved. The records of this division are fortunately or unfortunately quite obscure. The published materials which treat the subject are Shem Zook's German pamphlet, *Eine Wahre Darstellung,*[11] and Samuel W. Peachey's booklet, *Amish of the Kishacoquillas Valley.*[12] The facts are so few, however, and the treatment in the pamphlets so inadequate that it is impossible to know exactly what the real issues were in the Samuel King division. It is clear that in 1846 Bishop Samuel King faced great opposition in his church for reasons not stated. Tradition records that on one occasion he was accused of using seventy-two unnecessary (unnitzlich) words in one sermon. In the same year ministers from Pequea were called in to investigate the trouble and give their opinion, whereupon Samuel King was promptly silenced. Two whole years passed, and there was still no "peace." Because of his suspension from the ministry there was considerable opposition to the decision of the Pequea ministers, and in 1849 another committee of ministers was called in to arbitrate.[13] The committee met with the congregation and heard the complaints against Samuel King. It seems that the visiting ministers were divided in their opinion. Levi Miller wanted no part in silencing Samuel King, while Moses Miller

[9] Beiler was then and still is the common form of spelling used in Lancaster County, but the modernized spelling, "Byler," will be used in this paper.

[10] Abraham spelled his name "Pitsche," but the form in common usage today in Mifflin County is "Peachey." The latter spelling will be used throughout this paper.

[11] Shem Zook, *Eine Wahre Darstellung* (Mattawana), 1880. Shem Zook, (1798-1880) brother of "Long" Christian, was the son of Johannes Zug (1748-1804). He was an active layman who promoted the work of the church and in this booklet he attempts to render a true account of two church divisions in Mifflin County, the King schism of 1849 and the Peachey schism of 1863.

[12] Samuel W. Peachey, *Amish of the Kishacoquillas Valley,* (Scottdale), 1930.

[13] The committee consisted of four ministers: Levi Miller and Moses Miller of Holmes County, Ohio; Jonas Pitsche, Grantsville, Md.; and Abner Yoder, Somerset, County, Pa. Shem Zook, *Op. cit.,* p. 11.

favored it. Under the leadership of Moses Miller the congregation decided by a vote of 121 to 92 that Samuel King should not be reinstated to his former office. The leadership of the Lower district felt that the action of the committee was unfair, whereupon they reinstated Samuel King to the office of bishop without taking the consent of the other bishops. The Lower district with the entire congregation withdrew from the Upper and Middle congregations. The seceding congregation, with Shem Yoder and Samuel King as bishops, was called the "Samuel King Church," but is today known as the "Old School Church" or "Die Alt G'mea." Since its beginning this church has had the following bishops: Hans Beiler, "Long" Christian Zook, Shem Yoder, Samuel King, Jonathan Byler, Nathan C. Yoder, Christian J. Yoder, John Byler, and C. J. Byler, the present bishop.

From the years 1850 to 1864, Samuel Yoder served as a deacon in the Middle district, having been ordained by Solomon Byler. He owned several farms and was himself a successful farmer. This was undoubtedly the period in his life which prepared him for the work ahead, that of church building, peacemaking, assisting in the work of the Diener Versammlungen, and helping to formulate the over-all policies of the church.

One of the most far reaching divisions among the Amish churches of Mifflin County, was the Abraham Peachey-Solomon Byler controversy which culminated in 1863. There is no evidence that Samuel Yoder took sides in this dispute. The causes which gave birth to the Peachey church, known today in all Amish circles in the United States and Canada, are knotty and difficult to be understood. There was agitation between the bishops of the Lower and Upper districts already in 1851. One of the causes, but probably not the chief cause, was Solomon Byler's insistence that applicants must be baptized in the creek.[14] Abraham Peachey[15] objected to this new kind of baptism and held that baptism should be practiced as had always been done before. In 1851, three "outside" ministers were called upon to settle

[14] This creek baptism was not immersion. The mode of baptism used was pouring, but the bishop and the applicant stood in the water following the examples of Matt. 3:16 and Acts 8:38. This practice is one of the interesting and unexplainable innovations which affected some of the Amish Mennonite congregations, according to John C. Wenger in his book, *Glimpses of Mennonite History and Doctrine*, p. 121. Interesting enough, the practice no longer exists among the Amish or the Mennonites of Mifflin County.

15 Joseph W. Yoder says, "Abram Peachey was a man of strong personality, devout in all things and steadfast in the doctrine of the church. The members said, 'Er ist ein standhafter Mann!' " The quotation is from a chapter in his coming book, *Rosanna's Boys.*

the dispute.[16] It was decided that candidates who requested to be baptized in the creek must be denied this on the ground that it was provoking discord among the brotherhood. Because many of the members and Solomon Byler himself were dissatisfied with the decision of the visiting ministers, a second committee was called in to arbitrate.[17] This time a compromise resulted, and it was unanimously agreed (according to Shem Zook) that baptism could be administered in the creek as well as in the house. One would suppose that this would have ended the dispute, but it was the beginning of further dissension. The two bishops could never quite come to a peaceful settlement. Although an agreement on the baptismal question was reached, satisfactory to both districts and the arbitrating committee, there remained considerable tension.[18] Byler contended that he must have Scriptural proof for not baptizing applicants in the creek. On the ground that Abraham Peachey rejected the verdict of the Lancaster County ministers, the Middle district requested that a third committee of ministers investigate the trouble. In November, 1857, Moses Miller and Jonas Troyer, both from Holmes Co., Ohio, and Abner Yoder, Somerset Co., Pa., came to Mifflin County to review the controversy which by this time had already been brewing for more than six years. Both congregations were asked to attend a general meeting and register their complaints.[19] The committee of ministers apparently met with little success in their efforts to reconcile the two factions, for, in 1863 at the second annual Diener Versammlung at Belleville, the Peachey-Byler controversy was one of the major items on the agenda.[20] A council of seven ministers was appointed to arbitrate

[16] Levi Miller, Holmes Co., Ohio; David Byler of Pequea (brother of Solomon Byler); and Abner Yoder, Somerset Co., Pa.

[17] In 1855, the following ministers were called upon: Michael Schwarz, Johannes Stoltzfus (M), Johannes Stoltzfus (G), and Christian Kinnig (King), all of Lancaster county. See Shem Zook *op. cit.* for a rather lengthy discussion of the subject.

[18] A letter dated January, 1857, signed by the four Lancaster county ministers who had presided in 1855, was sent to the churches in the Valley urging them to seek peace. A translation reads: "We believe that Solomon Beiler has shown by his action his submission, and that he has carried out the decision made by us and the congregation. Therefore, we believe that such people who disagree have no right to prevail in discord. We advise dear brethren, that you caution those who still are dissatisfied as well as those who have not made peace." [Shem Zook, *op. cit.*] Abraham Peachey admitted that, whether baptized in the creek or in the house, both ways were scriptural and that the question must be left for the individual to decide; but he contended that creek baptism was disturbing the peace, and therefore he was against it.

[19] Abraham Peachey, not sure what attitude to take, quickly sent a messenger to Pequea to inquire of Bishop David Byler what he should do; the answer he received was to stay away from the meeting altogether, which he did. Shem Zook, *op. cit.*, 17.

[20] Forty-two ministers attended the meeting held May 25-27, 1863, in the barn located on the McClay farm, one mile northwest of Belleville.

between the two groups. Solomon Byler and his co-workers admitted that they had made mistakes, that they were willing to come to the Peachey congregation to confess, and that they were willing to forget the past. Byler agreed further to baptize in the houses if that would make for "peace." Abraham Peachey asked for time and patience to consult his congregation. Both sides confessed that they were somewhat agitated (etwas aufgelöst), and yet there seem to have been hopeful signs of reconciliation at the Diener Versammlung. The Amish congregation in Union County under the leadership of Bishop Elias Riehl seems to have supported the Byler party.[21]

It seems that the occasion for the outbreak of the division occurred one Sunday during preaching service. While admonishing the brethren, Solomon Byler again brought up the subject of creek baptism. Abraham Peachey, who had already heard too much about this creek baptism, turned to Solomon Byler and said, "In Gottes Nahme, wann du net zufrühte bist mit wass mir dühne, geh un duh wie du witt." (In God's name, if you don't like what we do, go and do as you please.) This was the parting of the ways. The largest proportion of the members followed the example of Byler. In fact, two ministers of the Upper district, Christian and David Zook, joined the Byler following, thus leaving the Upper district with its only bishop, Abraham Peachey, and one deacon, Christian Detweiler.

The Peachey following was so small that it was thought there would scarcely be enough members left to continue preaching services. The points of difference involved more than baptism, for, according to older residents yet living, the meetinghouse question and the clothes problem were also involved. Shem Zook concludes that there was considerable clash of personalities.[22] It was not long until the Bylers began to cut their hair shorter and trimmed beards closer than the Peacheys. Finally the Solomon Byler people began to establish meetinghouses. The Belleville meetinghouse (Maple Grove) was erected in 1866, and the Allensville meetinghouse was built in 1868. About 1871 under the leadership of Jonathan Hartzler and David Zook, Sunday schools were first held on the front porch of minister Enoch Zook. In 1883, the church gave its consent to hold Sunday school in the meetinghouse. The two congregations became a part of the Eastern Amish Mennonite Conference, and finally merged with the Mennonite Church.

[21] John Umble, "The Amish Mennonites of Union County, Pennsylvania." *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* VII (July, 1933) 73.
[22] Shem Zook, *op. cit.,* 21.

In 1864 there were already three divisions in the Amish Church in Mifflin County: (1) the Samuel King people (Die Alt G'mea), who withdrew from the main body in 1849; (2) the Peachey church; and (3) the Solomon Byler following (Church House Amish). The Amish groups can today be identified by the color of their buggy tops. The Old Schoolers adhere religiously to the yellow top buggies; the Nebraska Church, which broke with the Old Schoolers,[22a] use white tops; and the Peacheys use black tops.

Before 1864 little is known of the activities of Bishop Samuel Yoder; however, after that date his name flows in the main stream of church events. His ordination to the office of bishop was significant, not only because it affected his own personal life, but because it brought into the foreground a subject for widespread discussion. Is a deacon eligible for the office of bishop? This was the question to be decided. The question was for many years a subject of lengthy discussion among Amish circles. At the Diener Versammlungen of 1863 the question came up: "Is it permissible that the deacon take his place with the other ministers and participate in the preaching service?" Solomon Byler stated that in his opinion it ought to be so and that he for one would give consideration to the matter. Abner Yoder of Somerset County said that deacons should at times be given opportunity to preach; deacons should not take their regular turn at preaching, but should serve in case of need as is desirable by the bishop. Samuel Yoder then spoke up: "One must have opportunities to minister, otherwise one finds himself awkward and unqualified in case of need."[23] The conference finally decided that in general the deacon should be permitted to serve as a minister if he is asked to do so by his co-minister. It was added, however, that he is to perform ceremonies only in case of emergency.

Samuel Yoder was one of the few individuals in Amish Mennonite history who was ordained Voelliger Armen-Diener[24] and the last one in Mifflin County to be ordained to that office. The office of Voelliger Armen-Diener is almost unheard of today among the Old Order Amish, since in recent years the practice has fallen into disuse.[25] The duties of the Voelliger Armen-Diener are clearly

[22a] An account of the origin of the Nebraska Church is not included in this paper. The history of that church did not influence the subject of this sketch to any great extent, since it was a division in the Old School Church. The Nebraska Church originated in 1880 and should therefore not be included in the early church schisms of Mifflin County; rather, it belongs to a later chapter of history which, together with contemporary history, has not yet been written.

[23] Minutes of Diener Versammlungen, 1863, 7.

[24] A deacon ordained to the office of bishop.

[25] Contemporaries of Samuel Yoder who were also ordained Voelliger Armen-Diener were, Frederick Schwartzendruber of Kalona, Iowa, Michael Swartz, Union

outlined in the writings of John Umble, who has unearthed some valuable manuscripts formerly the property of Amish bishops more than four generations ago. It was sometime during the year 1864 that Deacon Samuel Yoder was ordained to the office of Voelliger Armen-Diener[26] by Bishop Solomon Byler.

From the very start Samuel Yoder played an active part in the Diener Versammlungen. He is the only minister who attended all of the sixteen sessions. These meetings were held twice in Mifflin County, Pa., seven times in Ohio, twice in Indiana, four times in Illinois, and once in Iowa. He served as secretary to the first conference and preached the closing sermon at the last meeting in 1878. On several occasions he was the only minister present from the entire state of Pennsylvania. The attendance ranged from a low of 27 to a high of 89 ministers. Other ministers of Mifflin County who frequently attended were: Solomon Byler, Enoch Zook, and John Hertzler, all of Belleville; David J. Zook of Allensville; and Michael Yoder of Mattawana.

The purpose of the annual minister's meetings was to bring about harmony and understanding among the various congregations scattered from east to west. In 1851, David Byler, an influential spokesman for the Old Order Amish of Pequea, in a letter to Moses B. Miller, Johnstown, Pa., stated clearly the need for a minister's conference. He says, "I have often been thinking that a general minister's meeting is needed, so we could probe each other orally with love, in humble spirit, with Christian simplicity, so that nobody would insist on his own opinion, but take the Word of the Lord as a guide."[27] However, after the Diener Versammlungen were organized, David Byler neither attended any of the sessions nor supported its work.

The impression that one gets from a study of the minutes of the Diener Versammlungen is that the meetings were conducted in an orderly and businesslike way. "During the first years of conference the method of procedure called, first, for the raising of practical questions of discipline or doctrine; second, the appointment of a 'Rath,' that is, a council or committee to discuss behind closed doors each question presented; third, a recommendation to conference, by the 'Rath' (pronounced 'Rote'); fourth, open dis-

County, Pa., John Stoltzfus, Knox County, Tennessee, John P. King of Logan County, Ohio, and Eli S. Miller, Goshen, Indiana.

[26] The origin and history of this office is still a mystery. See John Umble, "Amish Ordination Charges," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, XIII (October, 1939), 242.

[27] Shem Zook, *op. cit.*, 19.

cussion of the recommendation by the conference, and finally a vote by the conference. Sometimes, also, conference was petitioned for help in settling difficulties between, or within, congregations. Conference usually appointed committees to settle such difficulties and report the next year."[28]

The Annual Diener Versammlungen 1862-1878

No.	*Date*		*Place*	*Ministers Present*
1.	June 9-12,	1862	Wayne Co., Ohio	72
2.	May 25-27,	1863	Mifflin Co., Pa.	42
3.	June 16-18,	1864	Elkhart Co., Goshen, Ind.	71
4.	June 5-7	1865	Wayne Co., Ohio	89
5.	May 20-23,	1866	McLean Co., Danvers, Ill.	75
6.	June 9-12	1867	Logan Co., West Liberty, Ohio	42
7.	May 21-June 3,	1868	Mifflin Co., Belleville, Pa.	34
8.	May 16-18,	1869	Holmes Co., Walnut Creek, Ohio	27
9.	June 5-8,	1870	Fulton Co., Archbold, Ohio	40
10.	May 28-31,	1871	Livingston Co., Illinois	56
11.	May 19-22,	1872	Lagrange Co., Indiana	56
12.	June 1-4,	1873	Wayne Co., Orrville, Ohio	41
13.	May 16-19,	1874	Washington Co., Iowa	28
14.	May 16-19,	1875	Tazewell Co., Hopedale, Ill.	38
15.	June 4-7,	1876	Fulton Co., Archbold, Ohio	30
16.	June 9-12,	1878	Woodford Co., Eureka, Ill.	43

Ministers from Mifflin County who attended the first conference in 1862 were Samuel Yoder, Enoch Zook, and Solomon Byler. The major topics considered at the second annual conference held at Belleville, Pa., have already been discussed: the Peachey-Byler controversy and the duties of a deacon. A question asked by Abner Yoder of Somerset County, Pa., was: "How should one treat those who are transferring their membership to another denomination?" A council of seven ministers including Samuel Yoder was asked to consider the question and to come to some conclusion. This council failed to come to an agreement, however, and in 1864 the same question was brought up. A new council was then appointed which included none of the members of the former council, with the exception of Samuel Yoder, who was retained probably for good reasons.

A large number of questions were raised and assigned to councils throughout the years of conference. Some of the most important questions assigned to councils on which Samuel Yoder was represented are listed here according to the year of conference.

[28] The quotation is from John Umble, "Amish Mennonites of Union County, Pennsylvania," *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* VII (July, 1933) 174.

1863 1. How shall one treat those who are transferring their membership to another denomination?
2. If a member marries a person of another church, can such member be punished according to the Gospel?

1868 1. Is it the duty of a silenced (abgesetzten) minister to apply again for reinstatement or must he wait in patience until he is called upon by the minister and congregation?
2. Is it according to the Gospel to offer a reward for the return of stolen goods?

1870 1. Should a person be baptized who is not certain by emotion and feeling (Fühlung und Empfindung) that he has found peace with God through Jesus Christ?
2. According to the Word of God, how must one deal with those who claim that the manner of receiving members into the church (Aufnahme in die Gemeinde) is not right, who accept baptism the second time, and who have much to say against the church?

1872 1. Can an excommunicated member who in the meantime has married an excommunicated sister be received into the church again. Can he be received into the church even though she does not join the church?
2. Does the Gospel permit that sisters lay off entirely the head covering, the caps, during prayer in the house of God?

1874 1. Is it permissible according to the teachings of the apostles to elect as bishop a man who has been under the ban for adultery?

1875 1. Is it Scriptural if a brother is a stockholder in a bank, to receive money at a low interest rate, and lend it out at high rates?
2. Is it right to praise God with musical instruments?

1876 1. Is it right according to the teachings of Jesus Christ to lend money on interest?
2. Is it permitted that a brother invest his money in government bonds?

1878 1. A council was appointed to find a middle way whereby the conference might continue and the churches be built up.

An offering was sometimes received at the conference to defray the expenses, although undoubtedly most of the ministers paid their own traveling expenses to the meetings. At the collection taken at the conference near Orrville, Ohio, in 1873 a twenty-dollar bill was found in the collection plate. Jacob King, who received the offering, and supposing that the donor had made a mistake, immediately sent a notice to the *Herald of Truth* stating that the money would be returned if the claimant could produce satisfactory evidence that he was the donor.[29]

Slight variations soon began to appear among the widely scattered congregations of the Amish, and it became clear that the Annual Diener Versammlungen could not bring about unity. The final outcome of the conferences was the crystallization of the

[29] *Herald of Truth,* September, 1873, p. 152.

entire American Amish into three rather well defined bodies. There were those who favored a more liberal policy of church discipline, including the followers of Joseph Stuckey of Illinois (Central Conference Mennonites) Benjamin Eicher of Iowa, and a few congregations in Ohio. These groups have now merged with the General Conference of the Mennonite Church of North America. Representing the other extreme were those congregations who were decidedly conservative, together with those who had objected to the conference idea from the start. These are today known as the "Old Order Amish" and maintain the old customs of the fathers. The third faction consisted of those who took a middle position and favored a fairly moderate course, later called "Amish Mennonites." After organizing themselves into three conferences (Western, Indiana-Michigan, and Eastern), they merged with the main body of Mennonites in America.

On at least ten different occasions Bishop Samuel Yoder served on special committees assigned by the Diener Versammlungen to investigate and to assist in bringing about "peace" in some of the western congregations, in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa. In 1865 he was commissioned to Fulton County, Ohio; in 1866 to Elkhart County, Indiana, and again to Fulton County; in 1867 to Logan and Champaign counties, Ohio; in 1871 to Livingston County, Illinois; in 1872 to Lagrange County, Indiana; in 1876 to Washington County, Iowa; and in 1878 to West Liberty, Ohio. A difficulty in the congregation in Livingston County, Illinois, in 1871 was the problem of transferring memberships. The commission delegated to investigate the trouble which was causing ill feeling in the local church was Samuel Yoder, Abner Yoder, Johnson County, Iowa, and Moses B. Miller, Cambria County, Pa. The committee reported as follows:

> If anyone wishes to transfer his membership from one congregation to another, or separate himself from a congregation he must have a satisfactory letter from the congregation to which he belonged, or still belongs. Without such letter he or she cannot depart until they have made peace.
>
> Furthermore we counsel that they abstain from decorative jewelry together with all superfluous decorations which are forbidden in the teachings of the apostles (I Pet. 3:3 and I Tim. 2:9) and give testimony in the humility of Jesus.
>
> We advise you to adhere to the articles of faith as they were set up in the town of Dortrecht in Holland, April 21, 1632, which, as we find it, is the true Christian faith which the apostles in their time believed and which they sealed with their blood and death.
>
> We also admonish that the rule of Matt. 18:15, where the Saviour says: "If thy brother shall trespass against thee" etc., should be observed

better than this is generally being done, as well as the verses in James 5:19, 20, and Gal. 6. Written October 13, 1871.

Abner Yoder
Samuel Yoder
Moses B. Miller

As a minister and arbitrator, Samuel Yoder was endued with prudence and diplomacy in church affairs; but he was also a mighty preacher. The conferences were tempered with his short impressive talks, and five times he delivered lengthy sermons to the general assembly. One of these sermons was directed against false doctrine. In McLean County, Illinois, there seem to have been some members possessed with the idea that all men will be saved, and that there will be no hell hereafter. Samuel Yoder spoke very earnestly against this heresy at the conference in 1872. He remarked that only the godless person can console himself with such an idea. The assembly was cautioned to be on guard against false beliefs and false teachings, and members who held to such false beliefs were to be expelled from the church. In 1875, Bishop Yoder again preached the main sermon by request of the conference assembly. This time he spoke on the subject of prayer and seemed to have special insight in pointing out new opportunities for consecration, with special instruction to ministers. Prayer which is heard and fulfilled, he said, must be offered to the Lord in full confidence and trust. He continued: "Since we do not know how long we shall be here, and the duration of our time is so uncertain, each follower of Christ must give thought to his own stand, and bring his life into agreement with the will of God. This is especially the duty of the ministers, the watchmen on the walls of Zion, for they are sounding the trumpets of God to warn the people. Let them be found as true ministers and servants of God, ambitious to follow the example of the Saviour and the apostles, who have been teaching all peoples, and let them teach the way of salvation wherever they find opportunity. Every minister will then always be willing to teach without seeking to evade his duties. Like a true worker of the Lord he will always be ready to teach and pray where this is appropriate and useful."[30] In his closing sermon to the assembly of 1878, Bishop Yoder admonished the young people to obey the Almighty God and His Holy Word, he entreated the assembly to be faithful, and he warned the ministers that there is no room for vanity in a spiritual community. In his home congregation, Bishop Samuel Yoder was a diligent shepherd,

[30] Minutes of Diener Versammlungen, 1875, p. 30.

having charge of both the Belleville and Allensville congregations. For several years he was bishop of the little congregation near McVeytown, but was later relieved of this when Michael Yoder was ordained bishop. He rode horseback across Jack's Mountain to care for the congregation, often taking with him one of his children. One man who knew him personally said, "Whatever he wanted, that usually went."[31] He was highly respected in the entire Valley as well as by members of his own church. The young people liked him for his short and enthusiastic sermons. In stature he was a middle-sized man, rather lean with a small gray beard. His clear, distinct voice could be heard in any part of the meetinghouse. He did not insist, as did his senior bishop, Solomon Byler, that applicants must be baptized in the stream. He baptized in houses or in the creek as was requested by the applicants. Those who were baptized in the stream usually walked from the Belleville meetinghouse to the creek at Coldwater. The exact spot was on the farm formerly owned by Joseph H. Hostetler, directly across the lane from the old limekiln on the David E. Peachey farm.

In matters of church discipline, Bishop Yoder exercised wisdom, always seeking to win the offended one with a kind spirit. Once there was a rumor among the older folks that some young members had had their pictures taken, a practice contrary to church rules. The report was brought to the bishop. Bishop Yoder did not bring the matter before the entire congregation, but called on foot at the home of each young person during the week. He did not ask each young person point blank if they had had their picture taken, but instead kindly instructed them to destroy any such pictures if in their possession. Bishop Samuel Yoder's daughter, Nancy, and Jacob K. Zook, went west on a trip prior to their marriage. When they returned, expecting to be married in a few days, the bishop kindly asked them to postpone the marriage a few weeks until Jacob's hair grew long enough so that he could marry them with a good conscience.

Bishop Samuel Yoder was frequently called away to serve on special occasions. In November, 1874, Samuel Yoder, John Hartzler, and C. Stoltzfus (of Union County), visited the congregation in Knox County, Tennessee, and assisted in the ordination of two ministers, Joseph Detweiler and John B. Stoltzfus.[32] He was called to Lancaster County to preach the dedication sermon at the Millwood Church on October 3, 1882. Ministers from a distance

[31] Jeptha Hostetler (1855-1948) knew him personally as a bishop and friend.
[32] *Herald of Truth,* December, 1874, p. 203.

also visited the churches in Mifflin County frequently. John Werei, John P. Kinig (King), Christian K. Yoder and John K. Yoder of Ohio, and Moses Yoder of Missouri visited the Valley churches during the summer of 1879. These visits seemed to have a healthy effect on the membership, particularly for promoting unity among the churches. Noah Troyer, the sleeping preacher of Johnson County, Iowa, visited the Valley churches in August, 1880, and preached a number of times to large audiences.

Samuel Yoder was a regular reader of the *Herald of Truth,* having subscribed in January, 1865, for both the English and German editions. This led directly to his interest in the Mennonite migration from Russia to America in the seventies. In a letter to John F. Funk dated December 4, 1873, he writes: "I saw in the November number of the Herald a proposal to raise money for the oppressed Mennonite Brethren in Russia who propose to emigrate to America. We felt it our duty to raise some money in our churches in Kishacoquillas valley." The total cash contributions raised for the migration cause among the members of Samuel Yoder's congregation amounted to $554.05. The total contributions from the entire valley, given by other church groups and by individuals, amounted to $864.20. In a letter to Funk dated April 10, 1874, he writes again: "We have made another effort in our church to raise funds to help the Mennonite Brethren who wish to emigrate to America. There are now $850.00 subscribed to be given as a loan if needed. Besides there will be some more given as a freewill gift." Bishop Yoder was not only helpful to the cause in a material way but also was of some spiritual assistance. On January 2, 1879, he married a young immigrant couple, Jacob Jantz and Eva Dircks, at the Allensville Church. At least fifty immigrants were cared for in Amish homes in the Kishacoquillas Valley in the year 1874.

During his lifetime Samuel Yoder owned at least four farms and it is said that at one time he was worth $40,000 in land alone. His homestead was north of Belleville along Stone Mountain on the farm now owned by Levi P. Kanagy. He purchased this farm on April 15, 1854, from his mother Nancy Yoder for the sum of $9,040.28, being one hundred ninety-three acres. On April 10, 1865, he purchased fifty-three acres from John Mateer for $1,300; This is the place known as "the cheese factory farm." He erected both the house and barn on this tract of ground, and the place later became the home of his oldest daughter Nancy, married to Jacob K. Zook. On March 13, 1872, he purchased eighty-six acres

in Menno Township from Wm. H. Mateer for the sum of $10,401.75. This farm joined land owned by John Kanagy and John Zook and had on it a grist mill, the "Mateer Mills." He also owned and operated a tannery in Belleville, located along the stone valley road near the first bridge going toward Stone Mountain. He owned eighty acres of land in Nebraska. Although quite well to do, he had a sensitive conscience about the use of wealth. He was a liberal giver to the needy and loaned out money rather freely. During the closing years of his life he suffered financial reverses. These setbacks, his neighbors said, resulted because he helped the poor too much. To those who asked of him a bag of wheat when times were hard he did not refuse, but gave to the poor free of charge—even to his debtors.

Samuel Yoder passed away at a time when he was a great asset to the church. After suffering complications for more than a year he died of tuberculosis at his home on May 19, 1884, at the age of 59 years. His wife Elizabeth moved to Belleville where she lived with her daughter Molly until her death in 1912. The funeral service, which is believed to have been the largest ever held in the Valley up to that time, was conducted at the Belleville meetinghouse in charge of Jonathan Lantz, Jonathan Werie, and D. J. Zook, with II Tim. 4:6, 7, and Isaiah 33:24 used as texts.

Occasionally in his sermons, Bishop Yoder used an expression which in this connection describes so well the characteristic spirit of his work as a bishop. He said that he hoped when his time came to appear before the judgment seat of Christ he would be able to say, "Do komm ich Herr und meine ganze Heerdt mit mir." (Here I come, Lord, and my whole flock with me.) Mifflin County has had few church leaders who were so well liked and who at the same time were used in church work from East to West. Although he grew up in the thick of church dissension and in his own day saw the Valley church split on five occasions, he himself did not become entangled with any of the disputes. The congregations under his oversight prospered. In 1850 the total Amish membership in Kishacoquillas Valley was 290. In 1900 the membership had grown to 789, with memberships as follows: Belleville, 155; Allensville, 110; Peachey church (three districts), 250; Old School Church (two districts), 159; Locust Grove, 110. The congregation near McVeytown had 29 members in 1850 and 79 in 1900.[33] The upsurge in membership was due to the influx of new settlers as well

[33] Jonathan K. Hartzler, "Fifty years in the Amish Mennonite Churches of Pennsylvania," *Herald of Truth;* June, 1902, p. 163.

as the large families reared by the Amish. The increase was certainly not the result of any organized missionary effort. On the point of missions, however, Jonathan K. Hartzler (1838-1906), a frequent contributor to the *Herald of Truth* and an active layman in the Mattawana congregation, says that the Amish and Mennonites by moving into new states and taking with them Gospel principles were doing mission work without knowing it.

ATTENDANCE IN MENNONITE SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1947-48

Silas Hertzler

In recent years Mennonite high schools and colleges have shown very rapid development, just as has been the case with many other Christian colleges and with most secular schools. The total enrollment in Mennonite schools, over the twenty-year period for which this study has been made, shows a growth from 1,538 in 1928-29, to 5,919 for the year 1947-48. This is an increase of over 384 per cent. The tables which follow show this in exact detail. The first report, that for the year 1928-29, gave statistics from eleven schools. The present report includes the records from twenty-seven schools. These schools are located in thirteen states of the United States and in four provinces of Canada.

The names and addresses of the Mennonite secondary schools and colleges in the United States and Canada, for which the writer was able to secure the information, are as given below:

The Mennonite Biblical Seminary, 4614 Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois
Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana
Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas
Tabor College, Hillsboro, Kansas
Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio
Grace Bible Institute, 1515 South Tenth Street, Omaha 8, Nebraska
Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, Virginia
Mennonite Brethren Bible College, 77 Kelvin Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba
Hesston College and Bible School, Hesston, Kansas
Freeman Junior College, Freeman, South Dakota
Rosthern Junior College, Rosthern, Saskatchewan
Mennonite Collegiate Institute, Gretna, Manitoba
Mennonite Educational Institute, Abbotsford, British Columbia
Sharon Mennonite Collegiate Institute, Yarrow, British Columbia
Lancaster Mennonite School, Lancaster, Pennsylvania
Immanuel Bible School and Academy, Reedley, California
Eden Bible and High School, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario
Corn Bible School and Academy, Corn, Oklahoma
Rockway Mennonite School, Kitchener, Ontario
United Mennonite Bible School, Leamington, Ontario
Oklahoma Bible Academy, Meno, Oklahoma
Berean Academy, Elbing, Kansas
Iowa Mennonite School, Kalona, Iowa
Western Mennonite School, Salem, Oregon
Meade Bible Academy, Meade, Kansas
Johnstown Mennonite School, Hollsopple, Pennsylvania
Lustre Bible Academy, Lustre, Montana

Two Mennonite Brethren in Christ academies were included for the first time for the school year 1946-47. During the year 1947-48 this group of Mennonites changed its official title to United Missionary Church. The principal of the Mountain View Bible School of Didsbury, Alberta, did not reply to my questionnaire. The principal of the Emmanuel Bible School of Kitchener, Ontario, replied that since their denominational name had been changed, he supposed we did not care for the attendance information. A new secondary school and junior college was started by this same group in September, 1947, called Bethel College, and located at 1200 West McKinley Avenue, Mishawaka, Indiana. This school reports 72 college students; 44 high school students and 5 music students not of college grade, making a final total of 121. Of these men and women, 84 were members of the United Missionary Church and 37 were members of 8 other Christian groups. They came from 5 states and from Ontario.

Table I shows the complete attendance for the various secondary schools and colleges. The schools are arranged with those having the largest gross enrollment named first. The increase of 901 in attendance over the previous year is due in part to the five new schools, and to the addition of the enrollment of 87 from the Corn Bible School which failed to report for 1946-47.

Tables II and III divide the complete enrollment of all the schools on the basis of those registered on the college level and on the high school level. Fourteen schools gave college work to 3,099 students. One additional school had an enrollment of 5 students taking Bible courses, and who had previously completed high school. Twenty-three of the twenty-seven schools had a high school student enrollment of 2,815.

Tables IV and V give exact denominational information. Twenty-four groups are represented in the Mennonite student body of 5,130. There were in addition 789 non-Mennonites enrolled. The increase in attendance is, as should be expected, mostly in an increased number of Mennonite students. There were fifty-five varieties of Christian and non-Christian religious groups represented among the non-Mennonites, in addition to those for whom the church membership information seemed not to be available. The eighty-one students entirely unaffiliated represent an increasing challenge to both faculty and student body in these schools.

Tables VI and VII list the Mennonites and non-Mennonites as to home locations. Mennonite students come from eleven foreign countries, including China, India, Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay,

as well as from the six European nations of Belgium, France, Germany, Holland, Russia and Switzerland. The five great western Canadian farming provinces of Alberta, British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Ontario are all well represented. Thirty-three states located from Florida and Texas to Washington, Michigan and New York; and from California to Pennsylvania and Delaware are represented. One Mennonite student is reported from Puerto Rico. Those not members of the Mennonite church also are widely scattered, coming from Italy, France, China, Ethiopia, Lebanon, Belgium, Holland, Brazil, Nicaragua, four Canadian provinces, Puerto Rico and thirty different states.

Tables VIII and IX separate for study purposes the Mennonite students of college grade and those who are still in high school. It is of interest to note that taking both Mennonites and non-Mennonites, the total college enrollment is 184 larger than that below college level. When Mennonites alone are considered it is found that the enrollment below college level is 226 larger.

Table X points out that 493 summer students attended summer session in six different colleges. Men and women were almost evenly divided. Data for Table XI were incomplete. Since there was no report for 903 students it is impossible to have accurate information on the proportion of men and women. The data which are available are shown. Table XII gives comparative enrollment information for the twenty-year period included in the study. Table XIII lists the graduates from the various courses for the spring and summer of 1947. Statistics for the previous summer are tabulated, because information for the summer following the year of the report is not available when the information is prepared by the various schools.

TABLE I

Total Enrollment in Mennonite High Schools and Colleges, 1947-48

School	Graduate Students	College	Academy	Bible	Other Depts.	Total Enrollment
Goshen College	15[1]	843[2]				858
Eastern Mennonite College		225	251[3]	163[4]	90[5]	729
Bethel College	3	574			136[6]	713
Tabor College	11[7]	345	55			411
Bluffton College		333			44[8]	377
Hesston College		103	153	86	23	365[9]
Grace Bible Institute		312				312
Sharon Mennonite Collegiate Institute			305			305
Lancaster Mennonite School			208	4		212
Mennonite Educational Institute		22[10]	163			185[11]
Freeman Junior College		61	116		7	184
Immanuel Bible School and Academy			175			175
Rosthern Junior College		61	79			140
Mennonite Brethren Bible College		131				131
Mennonite Collegiate Institute		27	85			112
Eden Bible and High School			90			90
Corn Bible School and Academy			87			87
Rockway Mennonite School			78			78
United Mennonite Bible School		10	68			78
Oklahoma Bible Academy		5	69			74
Berean Academy			58			58
Iowa Mennonite School			58			58
Western Mennonite School			37	21		58
Meade Bible Academy			46			46
Johnstown Mennonite School			36			36
Lustre Bible Academy			24			24
Mennonite Biblical Seminary	20	3				23
Total	49	3055	2241	274	300	5919

1 8 fifth-year Th.B. students. 3 Bible students beyond the Th.B. level. 4 liberal arts graduate students.

2 28 correspondence students all of college grade are included in this number.

3 Includes 14 high school Bible students.

4 Six weeks Bible term students.

5 Bible correspondence students not of college grade.

6 Music and art students not of college grade.

7 7 graduate Bible students; 4 liberal arts gradute students.

8 Fine arts students not of college rank. Bluffton College Bulletin, May, 1948, p. 58.

9 Hesston College and Bible School Bulletin, May, 1948, p. 84.

10 Grade XIII is taken to indicate college students.

11 In addition 32 students in grade VIII are not counted since they are on the elementary level.

TABLE II

Enrollment by Classes, College Students, Mennonite High Schools and Colleges, 1947-48

College	Graduate Students	Seniors	Juniors	Sophomores	Freshmen	Special	Summer	Other Depts.	Spring	Total
Goshen	15	96	109	173	206	129	69	44[1]	17	858
Bethel	3	83	85	126	168	25	63	9[2]	15	577
Tabor	11	26	41	111	145	8	14			356
Bluffton		38	46	109	113	11	16			333
Grace		37	71	80	124					312[3]
E.M.C.		5	26	61[4]	100[5]	14	19			225
M.B.B.C.			23	43	45[6]	20				131
Hesston			3	28	72					103
Freeman				21	40					61
Rosthern					61					61
M.C.I.					27					27
M.B.S.	20	1			2					23
M.E.I.					22					22
U.M.B.S.					10					10
Oklahoma								5[7]		5
Total	49	286	404	752	1135	207	181	58	32	3104

[1] 16 evening students; 28 correspondence students.
[2] Evening students.
[3] 15 summer students; it is assumed these are all duplicates with the school year.
[4] 10 junior college seniors are included here.
[5] 45 junior college juniors are included here.
[6] Called "middlers" in the report.
[7] High school graduates taking Bible courses.

TABLE III

Enrollment by Classes, Students Not of College Grade, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1947-48

School	Seniors	Juniors	Sophomores	Freshmen	Special	Bible	Other Depts.	Total
E.M.C.	71	80	41	41	18	163	90	504
Sharon	126	179						305
Hesston	63	28	36	25	1	86[1]	23[2]	262
Lancaster	48	49	54	60	1			212
Immanuel	41	40	42	52				175
M.E.I.	28	26	55	54				163
Bethel							136[3]	136
Freeman	20	32	43	21			7[4]	123
Eden	12	19	28	31				90[5]
Corn	19	32	17	19				87[6]
M.C.I.		40	24	21				85
Rosthern		42	27	10				79
Rockway	9	17	20	32				78
Oklahoma	23	19	11	16				69
U.M.B.S.		22	29	17				68[7]
Berean	8	16	16	18				58
Iowa	8	21	14	13	2			58
Western	1	9	17	10		21[8]		58
Tabor	22	15	4		10		4[9]	55
Meade	13	12	7	14				46
Bluffton							44	44
Johnstown	4	9	9	14				36
Lustre			9	14	1			24
Total	516	707	503	482	33	270	304	2815

1 78 six weeks Bible students; 8 Christian Worker students.
2 Correspondence students.
3 Noncredit music students.
4 1 correspondence student; 6 fine arts students.
5 20 Bible students included with the high school students.
6 4 special Bible students not counted in the total; 10 Bible seniors counted with the high school.
7 32 music and art students evidently not counted in the total.
8 21 Bible students for six weeks.
9 Summer high school students, excluding duplicates.

TABLE IV

Mennonite Students in Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1947-48

Denomination	E.M.C.	Goshen	Bethel	Tabor	Hesston	Sharon	Grace	Lancaster	M. E. I.	Bluffton	Freeman	Immanuel	Rosthern	M.B.B.C.	M.C.I.	Eden	Corn	U.M.B.S.	Oklahoma	Rockway	Iowa	Western	Berean	Meade	Johnstown	Lustre	M.B.S.	Total
(Old) Mennonite	634	541	17	2	222	..	1	208	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	58	52	52	..	..	36	..	..	1828
General Conference	..	34	434	11	19	4	155	..	..	164	136	4	129	13	60	10	3	69	72	2	..	..	55	..	..	1	21	1396
Mennonite Brethren	..	2	3	291	..	301	8	..	..	..	15	113	3	104	18	80	82	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	1	1045
Menn. Unclassified	1	..	136	..	83[1]	..	4	..	185[2]	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	45	..	..	..	457
Evan. Mennonite Brethren	..	14	2	7	..	..	58	..	..	..	7	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	98
Krim. Mennonite Brethren	..	1	1	51	1	..	7	..	..	..	7	28	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	96
Conservative Amish Mennonite	74	6	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	87
Bergtaler	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	24
M.B.C. (United Missionary Church)	..	16	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	18
Amish Mennonite	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	15
European Mennonite	..	3	6	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13
Defenseless	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
Rudnerweider	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
Old Order Amish	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Immanuel Mennonite Brethren	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Weavertown Amish	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Sommerfelder	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Sonnenberg	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
United Mennonite	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Evangelical Mennonite	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Kleine Gemeinde	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Church of God in Christ	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Old Colony	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Old Order Mennonite	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Reformed	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	717	623	602	369	327	305	238	212	185	181	165	145	136	124	110	90	85	78	73	69	58	57	55	45	36	23	22	4825

[1] Details not given for 83 Mennonites.

[2] Details not given. All students reported as Mennonites.

TABLE V

Non-Mennonite Students in Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1947-48

	Goshen	Bluffton	Bethel	Grace	Tabor	Hesston	Immanuel	Freeman	E.M.C.	Rockway	M.B.B.C.	Rosthern	Berean	Corn	M.C.I.	Lustre	Meade	M.B.S.	Oklahoma	Western	Total
Methodist	50	52	29	9	4	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	148
Unaffiliated	15	3	2	15	15	..	26	1	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	81
Baptist	9	17	12	17	10	..	1	3	..	2	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	75
Presbyterian	18	19	9	11	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	60
Evan. United Breth.	25	23	..	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	56
No report	..	..	10	..	..	32*	..	7†	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	50
Lutheran	16	11	3	3	2	..	..	6	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	44
Brethren	29	5	..	1	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	39
Evan. Reformed	7	17	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	24
Christian	6	1	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	20
Cong. Christian	13	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
Chr. Miss. All'nce	1	1	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	13
Congregational	..	7	4	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13
Evangelical	..	4	4	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
Roman Catholic	4	6	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
Church of Christ	3	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
Episcopalian	3	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
Unknown	5	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
Brethren in Christ	4	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Waldensian	2	1	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
Assembly of God	2	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Church of God	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Disciples of Christ	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Missionary Church	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Nazarene	2	..	2	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Apostolic Christian	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Interdenominational	2	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Christian Catholic	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Church of God in Christ	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Reformed	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
United Church, Can.	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Colored Methodist	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Coptic	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
European Evan.	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Evan. Cong.	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Friends	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Pentecostal	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Seventh Day Adv.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
African Meth. Epis.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Asso. Gos. Churches	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Bahai	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Christadelphian	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Christian Reformed	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Christian Union	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Covenant	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Dunkard Brethren	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Dutch Reformed	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
Russian Baptist	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Free Methodist	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Greek Catholic	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Hebrew	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Holiness	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Hutterian	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Independent	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Moravian	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Swedenborgian	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Swed. Free Evan.	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
United Brethren	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Totals	235	196	111	74	42	38	30	19	12	9	7	4	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	789

* 32 for whom no details were given † Details not given for correspondence and music students

TABLE VI

States, Provinces, and Countries from Which Mennonite Students Come, Mennonite High Schools and Colleges, 1947-48

	E.M.C.	Goshen	Bethel	Tabor	Hesston	Sharon	Grace	Lancaster	M.E.I.	Bluffton	Freeman	Immanuel	Rosthern	M.B.B.C.	M.C.I.	Eden	Corn	U.M.B.S.	Oklahoma	Rockway	Iowa	Western	Berean	Meade	Johnstown	Lustre	M.B.S.	Total
Kansas	4	13	325	151	107	..	54	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	55	45	..	..	5	763
Pennsylvania	280	108	2	..	11	..	4	205	..	26	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	36	..	..	672
No Report	..	..	136	..	82	..	..	..	185[1]	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	73[2]	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	476
Ontario	18	20	1	..	6	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	16	3	90	..	78	..	67	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	300
Ohio	52	119	2	..	8	..	2	..	..	99	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	282
California	1	4	9	54	..	..	6	..	..	3	..	145	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	223
Indiana	10	157	2	..	13	..	5	..	..	17	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	207
Oklahoma	1	1	28	69	2	..	22	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	82	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	205
Virginia	190	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	199
South Dakota	..	..	6	10	..	..	16	..	..	..	150	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	182
Manitoba	..	1	3	6	..	..	11	..	..	1	..	..	..	42	106	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	170
Saskatchewan	..	..	15	9	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	101	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	146
Iowa	18	34	..	..	17	..	8	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	57	..	..	..	..	..	1	138
Illinois	4	65	3	..	6	..	..	..	..	24	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	104
Minnesota	..	20	11	17	3	..	43	..	..	3	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	103
Oregon	5	10	2	4	4	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	54	..	..	..	..	..	90
Alberta	2	1	9	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	26	21	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	65
Nebraska	..	1	18	8	13	..	17	..	..	..	4	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	64
Michigan	42	11	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	60
Montana	3	2	2	7	4	..	12	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	23	1	56
Maryland	47	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	50
Brit. Columbia	..	..	1	10	..	304	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	29	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	352
Colorado	1	16	1	..	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	30

North Dakota	1	1	..	7	12	..	6	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	28
New York	14	7	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	25
Missouri	5	2	4	..	8	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	22
Idaho	..	2	8	..	2	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	18
Washington	..	..	5	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	16
Delaware	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13
Texas	1	1	..	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
Holland	..	2	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
India	..	3	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	8
Paraguay	..	2	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Argentina	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Mississippi	1	2	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Florida	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Arkansas	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
West Virginia	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
China	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2
Louisiana	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Arizona	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Belgium	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Brazil	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
France	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Germany	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
North Carolina	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Puerto Rico	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Russia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Switzerland	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Tennessee	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Wisconsin	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	717	623	602	369	327	305	238	212	185	181	165	145	136	124	110	90	85	78	73	69	58	57	55	45	36	23	22	5130	

[1] Details not given. It seems probable that many of these students were from British Columbia.

[2] Details not given. Students probably from Oklahoma.

TABLE VII

States, Provinces, and Countries from Which Non-Mennonite Students Come, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1947-48

States	Goshen	Bluffton	Bethel	Grace	Tabor	Hesston	Immanuel	Freeman	E.M.C.	Rockway	M.B.B.C.	Rosthern	Berean	Corn	M.C.I.	Lustre	Meade	M.B.S.	Oklahoma	Western	Total
Indiana	190	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	193
Ohio	8	164	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	174
Kansas	3	..	81	4	25	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	125
No report	..	..	11	..	..	27	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	46
California	3	1	..	..	2	1	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	37
Nebraska	..	..	..	31	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	33
Pennsylvania	11	6	2	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21
Minnesota	1	..	..	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
Ontario	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
South Dakota	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
Iowa	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
Puerto Rico	4	4	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
Illinois	3	3	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
New York	1	4	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Oklahoma	..	..	2	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Virginia	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Italy	2	1	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
Saskatchewan	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
Manitoba	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	6
Michigan	2	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Colorado	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
France	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
British Columbia	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
China	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Connecticut	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Ethiopia	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Lebanon	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Maryland	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Mississippi	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Missouri	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Montana	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	2
New Jersey	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
North Dakota	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Washington	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
West Virginia	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Arizona	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Arkansas	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Belgium	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Brazil	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Florida	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Holland	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Louisiana	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Nicaragua	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Tennessee	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Texas	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	235	196	111	74	42	38	30	19	12	9	7	4	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	789

TABLE VIII

Mennonite Students of College Grade, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1947-48

School	Men	Women	Total
Goshen	297	326	623
Bethel	265	201	466
Tabor	182	142	324
Grace	122	116	238
E.M.C.	96	127	223
Bluffton			167[1]
M.B.B.C.	78	46	124
Hesston	60	36	96
Rosthern	35	26	61
Freeman	32	24	56
M.C.I.	17	10	27
M.B.S.	15	7	22[2]
U.M.B.S.	7	3	10
Oklahoma			51
Total	1206	1064	2442[3] 2270[4]

[1] Detailed statistics not given.
[2] Graduate students included.
[3] Vertical total.
[4] Horizontal total.

TABLE IX

Mennonite Students Not of College Grade, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1947-48

School	Men	Women	Total
E.M.C.	221	272	494[1]
Sharon	158	147	305
Lancaster	94	118	212
M.E.I.			185[2]
Hesston	49	96	231[3]
Immanuel			145[4]
Bethel	30	106	136
Freeman	55	54	109
Eden	44	46	90
Corn	45	40	85
M.C.I.	46	37	83
Rosthern			75[4]
Rockway	18	51	69
U.M.B.S.	46	22	68
Oklahoma			68[4]
Iowa	25	33	58
Western	26	31	57
Berean	29	26	55
Meade			45[4]
Tabor	19	26	45
Johnstown	17	19	36
Lustre	9	14	23
Bluffton	4	10	14
Total	935	1148	2688[5] 2083[6]

[1] One student for whom the information is incomplete.
[2] Detailed statistics not available. There were 22 college students in this school.
[3] 84 students for whom statistics are incomplete.
[4] Detailed statistics not available.
[5] Vertical total.
[6] Horizontal total.

TABLE X

Students in Summer Session, 1947, Mennonite Schools and Colleges

School	Men	Women	Total
Goshen	98	116	214[1]
Bethel	55	53	108
Bluffton	51	29	80
E.M.C.	12	26	38
Tabor	21	17	38
Grace	11	4	15
Total	248	245	493

[1] 21 Spring term students included along with 195 summer students. Two students attended both terms. Duplicates not included.

TABLE XI

Total Attendance, Men and Women, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1947-48

School	Men	Women	Total
Goshen	410	448	858
E.M.C.	324	405	729
Bethel	360	353	713
Tabor	223	188	411
Bluffton			377[1]
Hesston	155	191	365[2]
Grace	162	150	312
Sharon	158	147	305
Lancaster	94	118	212
M.E.I.			185[1]
Freeman	93	84	184[3]
Immanuel			175[1]
Rosthern			140[1]
M.B.B.C.	84	47	131
M.C.I.	63	49	112
Eden	44	46	90
Corn	45	42	87
Rockway	21	57	78
U.M.B.S.	53	25	78
Oklahoma	36	38	74
Berean	30	28	58
Iowa	25	33	58
Western	27	31	58
Meade	22	24	46
Johnstown	17	19	36
Lustre	10	14	24
M.B.S.	16	7	23
Total	2472	2544	5919[4] 5016[5]

[1] Complete details not given.
[2] Exact details not available for 19 students.
[3] Details unobtainable for 7 students.
[4] Vertical total.
[5] Horizontal total.

TABLE XII

COMPARATIVE ENROLLMENT MENNONITE HIGH SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1928-1948

Year	Mennonite	Non-Mennonite	Graduate Students	College	Academy	Bible	Other Depts.	Total Below College Grade	Total
1928-29	1025	513		847	569		122	691	1538
1929-30	1259	708		1085	609		273	882	1967
1930-31	1515	655		1234	710	110	126	946	2180
1931-32	1337	591		944	522	259	203	984	1928
1932-33	1135	538		906	416	277	74	767	1673
1933-34	1259	476		921	348	402	64	814	1735
1934-35	1742	530		1025	550	502	195	1247	2272
1935-36	2274	574		1151	1050	470	177	1697	2848
1936-37	2640	496		1242	948	800	146	1894	3136
1937-38	2258	680		1431	821	542	144	1507	2938
1938-39	2221	586		1447	690	530	140	1360	2807
1939-40	2164	628		1560	808	308	116	1236	2792
1940-41	2101	608		1581	688	343	97	1128	2709
1941-42	2218	600	9	1485	806	334	184	1324	2818
1942-43	2536	424	10	1331	1063	383	173	1619	2960
1943-44	2408	512	17	1267	1144	220	272	1636	2920
1944-45	2615	579	15	1219	1250	353	357	1960	3194
1945-46	3265	482	27	1689	1523	215	293	2031	3747
1946-47	4333	685	47	2760	1658	215	338	2211	5018
1947-48	5130	789	49	3055	2241	274	300	2815	5919

TABLE XIII

DIPLOMAS GIVEN AND DEGREES GRANTED, MENNONITE HIGH SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1947

Degree	M.B.S.	Goshen	Bethel	Bluffton	Tabor	E.M.C.	M.B.B.C.	Grace	Hesston	Freeman	U.M.B.S.	Lancaster	Eden	Berean	Corn	Johnstown	Sharon	Total
B.D.	1	5	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
Th.B.	..	4	..	..	..	2	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
B.A.	..	56	40	13	16	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	128
B.S. in Ed.	..	29	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	30
B.S.	..	..	..	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
B.R.E.	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
B.S. in Music	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
B.S. in Home Ec.	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
B.S. in Nursing	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
3 yr. Dip. in Bible	(college)	..	..	..	..	..	..	31	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	31
A.A.	..	9	..	..	14	..	..	..	12	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	43
A.A. in Bible	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Jr. College	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
Jr. College Bible	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Two-year Normal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Music Diploma	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Graduate in Theo.	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Christian Workers	..	2	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
One-year Normal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19
One-year Secretarial		9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
Aacdemy	..	..	..	..	27	64	..	..	67	20	..	48	12	8	9	4	23	282
Elem. Bible, 3 yrs.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	10	..	..	17
Elem. Bible, 2 yrs.	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	9
Total	1	118	43	28	58	87	11	37	79	53	10	50	19	8	19	4	23	648

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